OUR GOVERNMENT

REVISED

Josiah Dorris McGaw

Last four weeks of first semester - prepare a unit in Ed. Psy.

OUR GOVERNMENT REVISED

A Textbook of Civics

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The National Capitol, Washington, D. C. The Senate and the House of Representatives convene here.

FOREWORD

The purpose of teaching Civics is to give the pupil a knowledge of the origin and functions of government agencies, and to develop an attitude of respect and co-operation toward these agencies. The outcome should be a citizen who recognizes the duties and privileges of citizenship, and who will govern his activities in accordance with established law.

This text has been prepared for the purpose of presenting the most worth while and important of the available civic material, and applying it to the great principles of government which must be understood if our teaching of Civics is to produce the desired results. Here the principles of government and the concrete problems of the community are related in a logical and natural way that aids in the understanding of both.

The government—national, state, and local—is treated as a unit composed of organized and articulated parts, working in harmony for the accomplishment of the co-operative work which can be done better working together than any one, or a small group, can do working alone. The problems of government and community life are presented and the part that each organized unit should bear in their solution is made clear.

The material is so treated that the pupils who master the book cannot fail to have pride in the institutions that our government has made possible; nor will they lack in appreciation of what the government offers to its citizens in protection of life and property, both at home and abroad. They will recognize that, through the national and state constitutions, the fundamental principles of liberty and representative government are secured to the people; and that, through the opportunities for education and the provisions for safeguarding the health of her citizens, the facilities for comfortable travel, rapid transportation, speedy communication, and the development of our great industries—all made possible by the government—America offers to her citizens conditions for a high standard of living found nowhere else in the world.

Brief historical accounts of the origin and growth of national institutions have been included—for only with such a background can there be an understanding of present community conditions and their accompanying problems. Only through a knowledge of the Magna

Charta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, and our own Constitution of the United States can representative government in its fullest meaning be understood, and only with accurate information as a basis can the problems of modern government be satisfactorily met.

Each chapter of this book begins with a challenging problem which the pupil is expected to solve in his study of the chapter. At the close of each chapter are the **Test and Study Exercises.** Here, the *Aids to Learning* point out and emphasize some of the most important principles dealt with in the chapter; the *Test Exercises* afford an objective measuring device for determining how well the pupil has mastered the content of the chapter; and the *Suggested Activities* offer an opportunity for the pupil to go beyond the textbook for supplementary materials to apply in the solution of civic problems. Applied civics is a matter of *doing* as well as *learning*, so an abundance of interesting activities that the pupil will delight in doing has been suggested. The investigation of problems of local interest and the observation of civic conditions in the community offer to the pupils an opportunity for gaining much first-hand information. Aside from the information secured by each pupil through his own activity is the value he gains in sharing his information with the class. The pupil thus becomes a member of a co-operative body in which each has an opportunity to make his contribution. The ability to make a concise, accurate, and interesting report on a current problem cannot be overestimated, nor can the importance of co-operation in government be better illustrated than through the co-operative efforts of the class in planning for the solution of some simple school or community problem.

The text is divided into three parts. **Part One, Living Together,** gives the fundamental concept of all government; that is, living together in family, community, state, and nation. **Part Two, The Plan and Machinery of Government,** gives specific information about the structure and operation of government, at the same time creating a background for active intelligent citizenship. **Part Three, Problems of Government and How We Are Meeting Them,** includes a sane, intelligent discussion of some of the vital problems of today.

With the hope that OUR GOVERNMENT appeals to the present active interests of the pupils, and that through this very activity will prepare them for intelligent citizenship, the authors present this book to the future citizens of America

—*The Authors*

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OUR GOVERNMENT

PART ONE

LIVING TOGETHER

CHAPTER I

WORKING TOGETHER IN THE FAMILY

Do You Know These Terms?

forced obedience, 11. **final authority, 11.**
democratic, 10. **militia, 12.**

These expressions as used on the pages indicated must be understood before the chapter can be read intelligently. If you do not know the meaning of any term, look it up in the Explanation of Terms, page 355. Consult your dictionary for any other unfamiliar words.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Find out where the first lessons of government should be learned.
2. Find out the conditions under which government may be carried on without the use of force.
3. Determine the conditions under which force should be used to secure obedience.

The Family, the Simplest Type of Government. No one can live alone in the world. Everyone must live with someone else. Thus it is important that we learn the best way of living together. Our earliest lessons in living together are learned in the home. Any study of government must begin, then, with a consideration of the way people should live in the family.

Two or more people living together as a family must have rules to govern their activities. For example, the meals are served at regular hours, and each member of the family is expected to conform to the rule and to be present at the appointed time. Rules for living together in the family are worked out in the main by the father and the mother, and in this way government has its beginning in the family. Without this preparatory training under the guidance exercised by the family, every other form of government would be a failure, since it is in the family life that we learn our first great lessons of co-operation and obedience to authority.

1. *Pioneer Families in America Had Strict Discipline.* Among most families of American pioneers, there was much firm discipline. "Spare the rod and spoil the child," was a proverb quoted commonly even by kind-hearted parents. Work was hard, days of toil were long, and recreations were few. The father, nearly always more stern than the mother, secured strict and unquestioned obedience—largely through fear of severe punishment. Every member of the household had daily work to do in the home, and parental discipline furnished vigorous control and guidance.

2. *The Modern Family Is Democratic.* The modern family is more democratic than was the pioneer family. Husband and wife are now partners, recognized in law as equals in governing the home. Home discipline is more kindly; children are encouraged

to have and to defend opinions of their own. In the best homes they are still taught to obey, as they have always been taught to do, but in our modern times they are usually led to obey without appeal to force. In any case, however, the word of father or mother is the final authority in the home.

3. *The Family the Foundation of All Government.* It is thus seen that government is necessary wherever groups are associated. The pioneer family secured co-operation and obedience by stern measures. The modern family, at its best, secures these essential qualities by gentler means; but it secures them. Many modern homes, however, confronted as they are with difficult problems, fail to teach boys and girls to obey proper authority.

The child who has not learned obedience is handicapped for life. If he does not obey at home, he is not likely to observe the laws of the state. The best kind of obedience is that which comes from the heart and is not forced. Forced obedience, however, is better than no obedience at all. So while both the family and the state seek obedience freely given, nevertheless the state is prepared to demand obedience when it can get it no other way, but it should not be necessary for parents or state to secure obedience by force.

4. *Government Implies Force.* We ordinarily think of *government* in connection with the state or nation, but we have seen that government is also necessary in the home. In the same way, it can be

shown that government is necessary in the school, in the shop, or, in short, anywhere that groups of people are living or working together. When people engage in group activity, whether working or playing, someone must guide their activity; that is, someone must govern. This government should be, and usually is, in accordance with rules which the group understands. These rules are usually willingly followed by most of the group, but in case some member of the group refuses to act according to the rules, it may be necessary to use force to secure obedience.

Therefore, all effective government must be strong enough to enforce its rules and laws when necessary. The good citizen governs himself according to the rules of the groups to which he belongs, whether it be family, school, or nation, and with him the use of force is unnecessary. He has within himself the power to control his own conduct. A father or mother may use force, if necessary, to secure obedience from children. A truant officer may use force when necessary to bring a truant to school. A sheriff has authority to use force in compelling obedience to law. Our state governments have the militia, and our United States government has the regular army with which to enforce obedience to law. To secure obedience, without which there can be no good government, these forces are applied only to those who cannot govern themselves.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. When you have read this chapter, be sure you understand that the first lessons of government and self-government should be learned in the family.

2. Notice that force is necessary only when individuals are unable or unwilling to govern themselves in accordance with the best interests of the group.

Test Exercises

On a separate sheet of paper, write the missing word in each of these statements. If necessary, consult your book.

1. The _____ is the place where we get our first lessons in learning to live together.
2. In the pioneer family the _____ was very strict in securing obedience.
3. The modern home is more _____ than the pioneer home.
4. In order to be a good member of a group one must learn _____.
5. When an individual refuses to obey, it is necessary for the governing authority to use _____.

Suggested Activities

1. The problems of family life in the rural community, the village, and the large city are very different. Choose a family in the circumstances with which you are most familiar, and plan the duties for the day of the children, the mother, and the father, showing how the tasks may be divided so that each may do his part and the spirit of co-operation may be developed.
2. Make a list of five or more persons to whom you owe obedience. Show by illustration that the co-operation necessary in modern civilization is impossible without obedience.
3. Why may the city dweller be arrested or fined for acts that go unnoticed in smaller communities? Name several such acts.
4. What type of family secures the best obedience from its members? Give reasons for your answer.
5. Question for debate: Resolved, That the family is a more important governing body than the school.

CHAPTER II

WORKING TOGETHER IN THE COMMUNITY

Do You Know These Terms?

scientific farming, 16. **rotation of crops, 16.**
exploiting the soil, 16. **"turn over" of products, 18.**
consolidation, 19.

In order to get the correct meaning from this chapter, you need to understand these expressions as they are used on the pages indicated. Definitions may be found in the Explanation of Terms.

As You Read This Chapter

Notice the two kinds of rural problems—those directly related to earning a living, and those having to do with making life most worth while.

Community Life. As no person can live to himself alone, so no family can live for any great length of time without the co-operation of other families. When we think of a number of families living together and co-operating in their work and play, we are thinking of a group of people which is commonly called a community. The community is a group, frequently not definitely limited, having many interests in common and co-operating in order to live together. The community must have good roads or streets, good schools, sanitary and health regulations, market places, and sometimes parks and community houses—all used for the welfare of the entire community.

The Modern Rural Community. Even the rural community no longer lives to itself. Every city and

village problem affects life in the open country, and the country has grave problems of its own. Some of these problems are related to making a living and to owning property. Others, quite as important, have to do with how to live so as to share reasonably in the comforts, enjoyments, and amusements which modern progress has made possible in so large a degree for all. Some of the more important of these rural community problems are connected with farm ownership, scientific farming, marketing, good roads, the rural school, the lure of the city.

1. *Ownership of Farms.* "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." So ran the words of an old song. As long as this was true, the percentage of farm owners could be very high, but the supply of valuable free land has been practically exhausted for many years. The increased costs of land and necessary implements make it increasingly difficult for one without capital to save enough to purchase a farm. The percentage of farm owners who live in the country, therefore, shows a steady though not rapid decrease. Tenant farmers are often careless with the land, in some parts of the country working only for the greatest possible yield during the one or two seasons before moving to another farm. Just as land is usually better cared for by owners than by renters, so the social welfare of any community is best assured if the residents of the community have the permanent interest of home ownership.

2. *Scientific Farming.* The soil found by the first farmers had been developing for centuries, and for a greater or less number of years it produced bountiful crops. When fertility was exhausted, the pioneer farmer often took up another claim, thus

Plowing the Old Way. Some farmers use plows drawn by horses, like the one you see above. This makes the work long and tiresome.

exploiting the original productiveness of many acres. Since there is now little more land to exploit in this way and since the same tracts therefore must be kept in cultivation, scientific rotation of crops is now practiced in all progressive rural communities. By this rotation plan, fields in Europe which perhaps have missed few crops in a thousand years are still producing as well as they did in the beginning. Such scientific problems as rotation of crops, combating of insect pests and adaptation of varieties of

products to climate and soil, have been made the subject of experiments by agricultural colleges which give back to the farmer in expert services many times the amount of money he contributes to their support.

Modern Implements Aid Scientific Farming. The plow which you see above is drawn by a tractor. It plows several furrows at a time. It is a great improvement over the horse-drawn plow.

3. *Marketing.* Instead of attempting to produce as nearly as possible all of the things he needs, improved machinery and large farms cause the modern farmer to be a specialist. An entire community may be so well adapted to production of a single crop, that the output is almost as highly specialized as that of a factory. Marketing becomes a vital concern to a farmer or a community whose livelihood depends upon a single crop. Fruit and grain growers associations are examples of co-oper-

ative effort to find advantageous markets. Such organizations bring about reliable standards of quality which interest the buyer, and secure for their members a satisfactory price.

The "turn over" of most farm products is very slow and the opportunity to borrow money at a low rate of interest is essential to profitable marketing. A rise in freight rates may be sufficient to take away most of the profit from the heavier farm crops. The farmer now sells on a world market all staple crops, and his interests are no longer confined to a local community.

4. *Good Roads.* Roads are now and have for some time been recognized as a major problem upon the solution of which depends the welfare of small rural and village communities. This is especially true where soils are richest, rainfall abundant, crops the heaviest, and natural dirt roads the worst. The *mud tax* may in such cases be the highest tax paid. In spite of the automobile, the isolated farm home, without an all-weather road, may be a "shut-in" for weeks at a time. The road problem is too large for any small community to solve alone. It requires the co-operation of local community, state, and nation to build modern all-weather roads.

Happily, much progress has been made in recent years in the solution of the road problem. The national government has worked out plans for standard types of road administration, construction, and maintenance. When these standards are complied

with by the states, financial aid is given by the national government. Many of the states have voted bonds in large amounts for road construction; a great many trunk lines have been completed, or are nearing completion, and the states that are leading in road building are turning their attention to the construction of all year farm-to-market roads. All our people use public roads, but probably the farmer's welfare more than that of any other group is dependent upon the proper solution of the problem.

5. *The Rural School.* The small rural school of an earlier day, the little red school house of the story book, has not kept up with the changes in modern life. In many communities it has not been liberally supported. No neighborhood likes to be accused of lacking interest in education, but poor dilapidated old school houses and employment of the cheapest teacher available proclaim unmistakably the lack of a proper interest in education. Those who effectively believe in education regard education as a desirable investment and not as a tax to be avoided, or kept as low as possible.

But even honest, liberal taxpayers, genuinely devoted to the welfare of their school, need to study the rural problem. A well equipped school, enrolling a mere handful of pupils, is a poor educational investment wherever consolidation is practicable. It is hard for the independent spirit of the local community with its pride in the home school to give up the old way of doing things even when it is possible

in co-operation with other districts to maintain a school which can have better equipment, greater interest, and which can perhaps offer a high school course. In thousands of consolidated districts today, this better educational opportunity is being offered, and no one would think of going back to the little school even though it were a few miles nearer. It is evident that the road problem and this school problem are closely related, and that a successful solution requires the co-operation of the local community, state, and probably the nation which is proving so successful in solving the road problem.

6. *The Lure of the City.* All the real advantages of a city over a rural community may be traced to the fact that in the city many people are served instead of a small number, as in the country. Fine churches, great theaters, the largest stores, art galleries, libraries, the most convenient water and lighting systems, sidewalks, and paved streets cost so much that they must be where many people can use them and help pay for them. Opportunities to enjoy these greater advantages will always attract people from farms and villages.

Another class of seeming advantages is much less real. Wages seem higher in the city. To the few who are most successful they may be really higher, but the majority of city dwellers do not live better than those whose homes are in the country, for high rent and other necessary expenses use up the earnings of all except the fortunate few. Working hours

in most trades and professions seem short, but workers cannot own nor can they control the tools with which they work. They are subject, moreover, to enforced idleness during slack times and to loss occasioned by class struggles known as strikes and lock-outs. There can, it is true, be no eight-hour days on the farm during crop seasons, but in normal times the efficient farmer need not work more hours during a year than his city brother, to earn a much better living. With the improvement of country roads and the general use of automobiles, there is less reason to fear the lure of the city. The farmer will visit the city just as the city dweller will spend his vacation in the country. Each needs acquaintance with the other.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Observe that a number of families living together and having many interests in common make up the community.

2. Note also that it is in the community that government services and controls are first placed in the hands of agencies not within the family.

Test Exercises

1. List four problems of a rural community which are related to earning a living.

2. List three problems of a rural community which have to do with making life worth while.

Suggested Activities

1. Make a list of the advantages of owning a farm over those of renting a farm.

2. Explain how good roads are an aid to farmers in making a living and in enjoying life.

3. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:
   (a) Resolved, That the country is a better place to live than the city.
   (b) Resolved, That the farmer who does not read bulletins issued by the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College cannot be properly called a scientific farmer.
   (c) Resolved, That improved rural schools can be brought about best through consolidation and transportation.

CHAPTER III

WORKING TOGETHER IN VILLAGES AND CITIES

Do You Know These Terms?

urban community, 23. **chronic pauper, 28.**
related industries, 26. **franchise, 31.**

Before you can master this chapter you must understand the meaning of these expressions as they are used on the pages indicated. Look them up in the Explanation of Terms.

As You Read This Chapter

1. You should observe wherein the problems in large cities are different from those in small cities.
2. Also notice the differences in methods of dealing with large city problems and with village problems.

Villages and Cities. The growth of villages and cities has developed a need for greater co-operation. A large population in a small area brings many important problems not to be found in the rural community. Many of the activities of the village and city are, however, closely related to those of the rural community.

1. *Village and Small-City Problems.* The small urban community has many of the same problems as the open country. Both share the same limitation of the opportunities that are possible only in the larger cities. World stirring events are not occurring daily in the country but, for that matter, very few in the great city have more to do with such events when and wherever they do occur than do those who live in the village. All know about them

chiefly through newspapers and the radio. Much of what seems to make a difference between city and small town is mere noise, bustle, and nervous confusion which the smaller community is fortunate to be without.

Two problems of co-operation are noticeably difficult in small cities. Taxes for improvements in a small city are rarely voted without a serious controversy, and sometimes it is impossible to secure adequate support for municipal improvements and schools. Law enforcement may be lax in all small communities. But here, as everywhere, government will in the end be as strict or as lax in law enforcement as the people really wish it to be.

2. *Why Cities Grow Great.* All great modern cities owe their expansion to trade and industry. Examination of a world map shows that all important urban centers have developed where abundant supplies of raw material could be made available, and where a large population was dependent upon its commerce. Navigable rivers, harbors, canals, and railroads may be looked for in connection with every important city. More than fifty per cent of our population now live in cities. Our great urban centers have never in past history been equaled in population, area, or in facilities for work. Truly this may be called an age of cities.

(a) *Use of Machines.* Until little more than one hundred years ago work was largely done with what may be called tools instead of with more complex

machines. To illustrate, a spade is a tool while a steam shovel may be called a machine. A man with a machine can do many times as much work as one who uses the simpler tool.

As the result of the development of machines, large numbers of men are now released from their former occupations for other pursuits. Through machines the world's wealth is also greatly increased and a better living for all is made possible. For example, the development of farm machinery has meant that a smaller number of farm workers can produce a greatly increased amount of the necessities of life. A reduced proportion of the entire population thus live on the farm. Part of the change has been merely a shift of the place where labor must be performed. The binder or header does not save all the time represented by the difference between simpler tools of an earlier day and modern implements. The machines themselves must be manufactured. They cannot be manufactured economically except in large factories and these are always located in cities. The city mechanics or day laborers, engaged in making farm machinery, may thus be thought of as farm workers, harvesting grain in fields which they may never see.

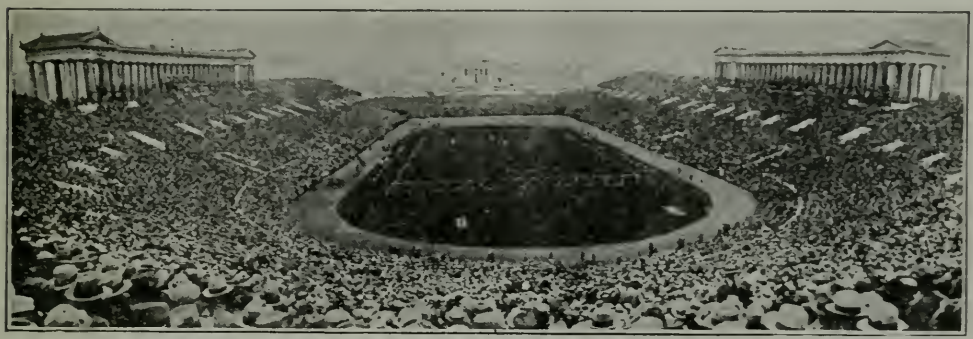
(b) *Specialization.* What has occurred in regard to farming has happened in other occupations. Economy means mass production of wearing apparel, furniture, and in the preparation of many foods. The street car or the automobile in which

we ride cannot be constructed except in large manufacturing plants. By what is known as division of labor, where each man or group of men makes but a single part, work is greatly "speeded up." The manufacturing plant depends upon co-operation of experts, none of whom could build the entire machine or carry out the whole manufacturing process.

(c) *Related Industries and Use of By-Products.* Once a large manufacturing plant is established, it is usually found that related industries develop in connection with it. For example, a meat packing community economically manufactures soap. Much of the slaughtered animal formerly wasted when each little community prepared its own meat is now turned to account in such by-products. In some cases, the companion industry developed for producing by-products has rivaled in importance the industry out of which it grew.

(d) *Many Serve Industry Indirectly.* Great masses of city population are indirectly engaged in industry and trade. Railroad men, dock men, transfer men, and the operatives of the manufacturing plants themselves must be near their work or have rapid and cheap transportation, possible only in the city. In addition to the above mentioned classes, physicians, lawyers, ministers, teachers, entertainers, and other professional people of every kind who are not directly concerned with trade or industry are found in every large city in proportion to its population.

(e) *Some Enterprises Possible Only in Large Cities.* As the city increases from all the foregoing causes, the possibility of co-operation seems to grow; "the larger the city the faster it grows, the larger it may be." As an example, a theater which might attract a large house a few nights in a small



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Soldier Field in Chicago. This picture shows Soldier Field, and the Field Museum in the background. There were 117,000 people witnessing the football game between Notre Dame and the Navy, October 13, 1928.

city, may draw crowds month after month in a large city. It becomes profitable, therefore, in large cities to build and maintain such theaters. One moderate sized hotel might be all which a small city could support; but a large city with its thousands of guests every day needs many hotels with hundreds of rooms. It has already been shown that great museums, art galleries, and libraries can exist only in the city. Enough has been cited to prove that cities do not owe their size entirely to industry and trade; size itself is necessary to render possible many of the activities of civilization. A city is the

result of the most extensive and complex degrees of co-operation.

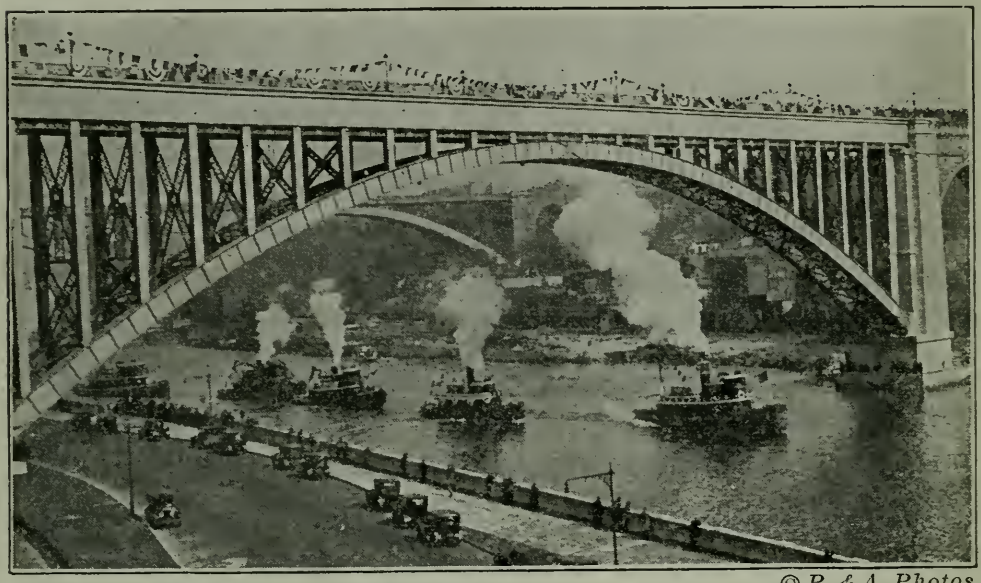
3. *Great Size of Cities Brings Great Problems.* (a) *All Cannot be Acquainted with City Needs.* The great size of cities also brings problems. The impossibility of personal acquaintance among those who co-operate in city life gives all city activities a peculiar aspect when compared with the relations of inhabitants in small towns and in the country. The fact that everyone knows everyone else in the small community may lead to lax law enforcement, but there is in the country more effective unorganized human sympathy in dealing with the unfortunate than there is in the city. In a sense all "are strangers within the gates" in the city. Less dependence can be placed upon the honesty and personal worthiness of those who suffer from poverty or are chronic paupers. Results in public welfare work must depend upon organization of expert service. In the small community, a few shiftless or degenerate families may live in the same neighborhood with the more prosperous and intelligent and be recognized as in need of voluntary aid and sometimes of official relief. In the city such persons are likely to crowd into slums; voluntary aid does not solve their problems and their many unknown neighbors of the great community must employ unknown workers to spend the city's money upon these unknown dependents. There is as much sympathy and kindness among city dwellers as among those who live in the

country, but this obstacle of lacking personal acquaintance is always found in dealing with city problems.

(b) *Crime.* Statistics show that there is more crime in cities than in smaller communities, but the difference is probably not so great as many who talk about "wicked cities" believe. Much of the wrongdoing is committed by persons who do not belong permanently in the city. Many laws, moreover, must be enforced in the city for the violation of which no arrests would be made in a village. It is true, however, that those who are deterred from bad deeds only by fear of the gossip of small town neighbors feel free to lead their own lives in the city. One who leans toward crime may take a chance more readily among strangers than he would among acquaintances.

(c) *Police.* Boys and girls are likely to think of the policeman as one who may arrest you or put you in jail. It is much more nearly the truth to consider policemen as honest, kindly, helpful officers who are working for all of us. Most policemen seldom make arrests; their work consists largely of giving information, keeping people from crowding together and obstructing traffic, and guiding the great throngs who must cross busy streets. You may watch a policeman for many hours without hearing him utter a loud or angry word or say anything about arresting any one. But, of course, laws and ordinances must be obeyed; if kindness and a pleasant

manner are not heeded it becomes the policeman's duty to use force. Boys and girls can help policemen, not only by obeying laws, but by being as orderly and polite as these law-enforcing officers are.



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Scene in a Large City. Wide, paved boulevards provide for automobile traffic; the canal provides for boat traffic; the bridges provide for street car and other traffic.

(d) *City Transportation Problems.* Without street cars, automobile transportation, or subways, our largest cities could not exist. They even require on some streets, surface cars, elevated lines, and a subway or underground line, to carry people to and from daily work. Construction of such street railways requires the greatest engineering skill; it is often necessary to build under rivers or buildings or high above the house tops.

The great problem of financing the construction

of subways, elevated lines, and the extension of surface lines, and also the problem of franchises have been greatly simplified in recent years by the creation of public service commissions. These official bodies regulate expenditures, collect data, and regulate our public service utilities in accordance with the facts thus obtained. In this way much of the public suspicion and political agitation formerly connected with our city transportation problems have been avoided in recent years.

(e) *Water Supply and Clean Streets.* An adequate water supply is essential for trade and industry; a supply of pure water is necessary for preservation of health. A fairly reliable measure of people's civilization might be the amount of water used in bathing. Fire protection calls for a constant and unlimited water supply. The modern city thus demands abundant, scientifically tested, pure water; a large number of typhoid cases is now regarded as a disgrace since their definite relation to a polluted water supply is known.

Clean streets are also related to health. An orange peel, a chewing gum wrapper, or an apple core may be of little consequence upon a country road, but if all the thousands who walk city streets are careless with such minor items, it is a different matter. The street cleaning department is as necessary as the police system. Modern cities cannot afford "clean-up days"; our cities must be clean all the time. In keeping them so, boys and girls can co-operate with

those who are appointed to keep streets clean and sanitary.

(f) *Industrial Nuisances.* Manufacturing communities often meet peculiar problems in relation to the great plants to which they owe their growth. A factory may be very noisy; it may give forth offensive odors or even dangerous gases. The interest of the entire population is always to be placed before the gains of even a large number; hence, cities are solving such problems by requiring concerns which become a nuisance or a menace to find quarters apart from most of the population or to install equipment which will do away with the evil. The most familiar example of solving such a nuisance problem is the smoke consuming provision now almost universally required.

4. *City Planning and the City Beautiful.* People can seldom foresee in the rambling village or hustling small town, the great city of the future. In the old world and in the older parts of the United States crooked paths seem to have become streets. Most American cities are laid out in squares or rectangular blocks, a great improvement over the irregular streets of earlier days, but modern traffic often finds its needs inadequately met by the unmodified rectangular plan. Wider thoroughfares and parks become necessary. Modern cities thus have much to undo because plans were not made earlier. Most cities are now developing commercial thoroughfares adequate for increased automobile traffic.

It is interesting to note that Washington, D. C., was laid out more than a hundred years ago by a famous French engineer, Pierre Charles L'Enfant who was a friend of George Washington and who had aided him during the American Revolution. After visiting the various cities of Europe, L'Enfant, in consultation with Washington and Jefferson, made plans for a city of seven hundred thousand population. It was long called derisively the city of "magnificent distances" because it had been planned for a great future, but those who visit Washington now can see the significance of this early city planning.

5. *The Regional City of the Future.* Our large urban areas consisting of a great city as a center and of numbers of smaller incorporated towns and cities operating under independent local governments, present an important problem of planning for future development. Some of our great cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles have taken the lead in planning for the development of the entire urban region. Such an area may be properly called a regional city. These great regional cities of the future will doubtless be composed of more or less independent sub-cities, residential sections, forest preserves, garden suburbs, landing fields for airplanes, industrial centers, and public parks located and developed according to plans which will really make the regional city of the future a great improvement over the present large city with its noise, confusion, smoke, and congested traffic.

6. *Cities Willing to Pay for Service.* The solution of these problems such as transportation, regional planning, and industrial development requires large expenditures of money. The money required for such expenditures must be raised by taxation which of necessity is higher in large cities than in communities where such improvements are not available. But where the money is honestly and efficiently expended for the purposes for which it is raised it is probable that the taxpayer receives more value from his money expended in taxes than from many expenditures made for private purposes. The city people, compelled by necessity to live and work together, are accustomed to co-operating in so many ways that as long as efficiency and reasonable economy characterize the expenditures of city government, money for improvement is usually voted without question.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Notice that industrial development has caused cities to grow up and that these cities have brought great problems of government control and service.

2. Notice that while most small city problems are also found in large cities, the latter must carry on by co-operative means many activities left to the individual in the village or open country.

Test Exercises

On a separate sheet of paper, write the words which have been omitted from these statements. Look back at the chapter if necessary.

1. It is more _____ to get taxes for improvements voted in a village than in a large city.

2. Trade and industry are the chief factors in the growth of _____.

3. The use of machines in an industry means that a _____ number of workers are required.

4. The railroads serve industry by providing rapid and cheap _____.

5. There is _____ crime in cities than in country districts because more people live in a small area within the city.

6. City planning should provide for the future needs of the city _____ these needs actually arise.

Suggested Activities

1. Appoint a committee to investigate the transportation provided for your community and to report its findings in class.

2. Write a paragraph showing the importance of transportation for your community and give an example of an industry dependent upon good transportation facilities.

3. List as many activities as you can which are supported by taxation.

4. Outline a plan for improving the community in which you live and providing for its future growth and needs.

5. Find out what percentage of people living in the United States reside in cities. Discuss the significance of this condition.

CHAPTER IV

WORKING TOGETHER IN STATE AND NATION

Do You Know These Terms?

fraudulent schemes, 38. **Interstate Commerce Commission, 39.**

Study the meaning of all expressions you do not understand. You will find those above in the Explanation of Terms.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Find out how community, family, state, and national governments supplement each other.
2. Learn what the basis is for deciding the problems which should be taken up by each of these governments.

Working Together Through State Government. The rules and laws which provide for the organization of local communities are provided by state government. When people living together in communities find that by all working together some particular kind of work that is of value to all can be done better than by any one or by any smaller group working alone, the state takes over that work. The state may do all of a task; it may aid the local communities in doing it; or it may pass laws enabling or requiring the local community to do the work.

1. *Road Building and Maintenance.* Road building a few years ago was generally considered the work of the local community. But in recent years all through highways are constructed and maintained by the state and in some states many of the branch roads are built wholly or in part at state ex-

pense. States, however, give the local communities power to levy taxes for road purposes and to construct and maintain neighborhood roads.

2. *Education.* The work of education is another activity provided for and supported in part by the state. Many of the states provide higher educational institutions such as state universities, agricultural colleges, teachers' colleges, and other institutions where persons may receive at a low cost, technical training in a chosen profession. In this way the state provides expert professional service for its citizens. The state also aids the local communities in financing the public schools, and provides through a state department of education for assistance in supervision and administration of the schools.

3. *Regulation of Public Utilities.* Another important service rendered by the state is the regulation of public utilities, such as the telephone, telegraph, electric light, water, gas, street car, and bus companies. Local communities formerly attempted to control such companies but it was found that the expert knowledge necessary to an understanding of the operation of any public utility was practically the same for all communities of the state. Therefore, it was determined that the state could do this work much cheaper and better for all communities than each could do it for itself. Public utility commissions now fix rates, require standards of service, and generally supervise the operation of public service corporations.

4. *Other Service Rendered by the State.* Most states maintain departments of public health, agriculture, insurance, and finance besides many boards, bureaus, and commissions, each serving the people in a particular field. Thus the people living together and working through their state government protect themselves from disease, weak insurance companies, failing banks, and fraudulent schemes of various kinds.

Services Rendered by the National Government. The people of the whole world are living together and working together now more than ever before. The radio, airplane, telephone, telegraph, and automobile have largely eliminated distance and enabled whole nations to live, work, and think together. Under these conditions the national government can do much of the work we all need to have done better than state or local governments can do it.

1. *Communication.* Communication, without which there could be no modern life as we know it, is provided, controlled, or regulated by the national government. Our postal system, which is the greatest institution for promoting communication ever known, is provided by the national government and for a small fee any of us can send mail or merchandise to any part of our own country or to foreign lands. The postal system is an excellent example of a great service at small cost which our national government provides for the people.

Communication by radio furnishes an excellent

example of the service of the national government in regulating communication. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1920 declared radio a public utility and gave the Interstate Commerce Commission power to investigate, fix, and regulate rates and service. But the Interstate Commerce Commission never exercised that power. When Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover for a time exercised some control over the radio but the Supreme Court decided that he was without authority to do so. Without the control of law, confusion developed in the air. The problem was recognized as national, and was solved through legislation by Congress. The interests of society and the public are protected by the national government which is the only unit of government whose authority is extensive enough to furnish the necessary protection in radio communication.

2. *Transportation.* As was indicated in the discussion on living together in the local community, transportation is necessary for co-operation in doing our work. While the rural community, the city, and the state all have problems of transportation and while they co-operate in the solution of these problems, nevertheless the basic thoroughfares of transportation are nation wide in their scope, and their development and improvement is one of our important national problems. The national government promoted and aided the building of railroads by granting millions of acres of land to railroad companies and it now regulates rates through the Inter-

state Commerce Commission. Navigable waterways have been national highways since the beginning of our government and the deep sea waterway from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico will be, when finished, one of the greatest water routes ever constructed by man.

Air transportation, which is rapidly assuming greater significance, is from the very nature of its problem an enterprise which the national government must regulate and control. Airports and landing fields may be furnished by cities but the use of the air for transportation purposes, as in the case of radio communication, is under national control.

The great trunk lines as highways for automobile traffic are national highways constructed and maintained in co-operation with the various states. Thus the national government promotes living together and renders the people valuable service at low cost by regulating and promoting transportation.

3. *Commerce.* Commerce has been one of the important contributing factors to living together since the beginning of civilization. It was one of the outstanding factors in making possible the union of the original thirteen states into one permanent nation. The national government at the present time renders a very important service to the people by directing and assisting in the solution of the problems of international commerce and by promoting our trade with foreign lands.

4. *Money.* No people can make marked progress

or carry on in an advanced state of civilization without a stable currency. Realizing this fact the writers of the constitution gave to the national government the power "to coin money and regulate the value thereof." Operating under this power the national government has provided a stable currency, established a great banking system, and contributed to the commercial and economic development of the country.

5. *Industry.* Industry in America has always been largely in the hands of private individuals and corporations. But the national government through tariff legislation, promotion of trade, and direct regulation and inspection has contributed much to the development of industry. A prosperous industrial development means more goods and better living conditions for all of us.

6. *Conservation of Natural Resources.* One of the most important services the national government is performing for the people is that of conserving natural resources. The America of the future depends upon the careful conservation of the natural resources now available. The prevention of soil exhaustion by a one crop system and soil erosion; the wise use of our forests; economic mining; the reservation of oil shale and coal fields; and flood control are all phases of the conservation policy of the national government. Conservation laws and policies have been increasing in importance in the estimation of the American people for a quarter of a century.

We now generally recognize the fact that the standard of living in the America of the future—in fact living at all—will depend upon the efficiency and care exercised in conserving our natural resources.

7. *Foreign Relations.* The happiness and well-being of our people are greatly influenced by the relations of our national government with foreign nations. Foreign countries produce many articles which we need and which we cannot supply for ourselves; on the other hand, they depend on us for many of our manufactured and farm products. A friendly foreign market with which to make such exchanges and to absorb our surplus, means prosperity for the American people. Our national government perhaps renders its greatest service in maintaining cordial foreign relations and protecting the welfare of its citizens. All of our relations with foreign states are cared for by the national government through the Department of State.

Summary. The need for self-government of the individual, the need for government within the family, the community, the state, the nation, and even between nations, has resulted in the development of our present system of working together through government. The individual, in order to enjoy fully the privileges of the family, must conduct himself in accordance with rules worked out that will best secure harmony within the home. To meet a common need, families co-operate with other families. The outgrowth of these relationships results in a

community organization necessary to accomplish the aims of that group. The amount and kind of government in any community depends on the number and the importance of its problems. These city and county governments likewise serve as agents for the state, from which they receive their right to exist, in carrying out state policy. The state constitutions provide for the organization of local communities. When it becomes apparent that the state government can manage a certain type of work better than any smaller unit of government can accomplish it alone, the state takes over the administration of that problem. There are likewise certain other types of work which the national government can do better than can either the state or local governments. Only national effort could produce the postal system as we have it today, and a national organization is necessary to preserve a union of the states and conduct the foreign affairs of the nation. Thus we see that government—national, state, and local—includes all the people working together to meet the needs of progress, to encourage ideals, and to promote the welfare of the people for which it operates.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note how all government has grown out of attempts to solve common problems.

2. It is important to note that the work of the national government is, in general, defined by the Constitution of the United States; that state governments may undertake almost anything approved by their

citizens and not in conflict with the national Constitution; and that local communities, villages, and cities have only the powers which states give them or permit them to exercise.

Test Exercises

1. Make a list of five services performed primarily by the state government.
2. Make a list of five services performed primarily by the national government.
3. What is the missing word?
   (a) Individuals work together through government because they have _____ problems.
   (b) In order to enjoy the privileges of the community the individual must _____ the laws of the community.

Suggested Activities

1. Learn why it is necessary for the national government to control transportation.
2. Give reasons for the state control of education.
3. Write a sentence stating the reasons for the fact that the problems of government are becoming more complex.
4. Write a paragraph stating the reasons for the necessity of cooperation between nations.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZED UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

authority, 45. **judicial district, 48.**
trustees, 47. **specialist, 52.**
assessed, 47. **expert service, 52.**
interstate problems, 52

Before you can master this chapter you must understand the meaning of these expressions as they are used on the pages indicated.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Learn the meaning of the various units of government from the family to the national government.
2. Find out how these units can overlap geographically but not conflict in services performed.

Units of Government. Our government operates through a number of units, each of which is recognized by custom and law. These various units are more or less related and vary greatly in different parts of the country. Each exercises authority in its field through some person or persons recognized by law as acting in an official way. Those in authority have the right to make rules or laws, interpret them, and put them into operation. Each unit of government has its special work to which it is best adapted or for which it has been created. The methods are constantly undergoing changes, and in many cases what has been done for years by one unit of government gradually passes under another. For example, road work in many sections of the country was formerly done through the township or county.

but because of the need for permanent hard roads, road work is passing from the township or county to the state and is often aided and supervised by the nation. Another example is the regulation of railroads which has practically passed from state to national control.

Every person is a member of several of the units of government. The best interest of each individual is bound up with the successful operation of every one of these divisions. The good citizen takes his part in the work of every unit of which he is a member.

The Family. The family, as has been explained, is the simplest organized unit of government. Persons other than the husband, wife, and children are sometimes attached to it, but they always observe the rules and customs of the household. The old English adage, "A man's house is his castle," is still recognized in America. Certain privileges and duties not found elsewhere accompany membership in the family group; but much of the work that was once done in the home under family supervision is now carried on under supervision of other units of government. For example, bread-baking, which was once a home activity, is now done by a bakery which is operated under a city license, inspected by state officials, and subject to state and national pure food laws.

The School District. The school district is a special unit created to do a specific work. The instruction of children is better and more economically done by

persons who make teaching their business than by parents already too busy with other things.

Americans have agreed that all the youth of their land should have opportunity to secure free an elementary and a high school education. Special boards of school trustees or directors whose only official duty is the general direction of the schools which the community supports, have been provided in every state. These boards employ teachers, provide buildings and equipment, and make all necessary regulations for the management of the schools. The success of our schools is often dependent upon the unselfish service of school trustees who must devote many hours to school problems, usually without compensation.

The Town or Township. The town, as it is called in New England, or the township, as it is known elsewhere, is a unit of government in most states. In New England it is of great importance since it is the unit for carrying on the local government. Property is assessed, taxes collected, roads constructed, and schools maintained in New England by township officials. In the South the township as a unit of government is of little importance; a constable and justice of the peace usually being the only officials elected. The work which the middle and western states do through the township unit of government varies greatly, and there is a strong tendency for much of it to pass to the county. Most of the territory of the United States is laid off in congressional

townships six miles square. These are in no sense units of government, but are used for the purpose of locating and describing land boundaries.

The County. The important local unit of government is the county. It was established largely as a judicial district and as a convenient unit for assessing property and for collecting state taxes. In general, the county is still the agent of the state for these purposes. Much that was formerly done by smaller units has been and is being transferred to the county. For example, in pioneer days the school district was usually a small unit from two to four miles square. A number of states have made the county the unit for administering schools. Another example is the building and maintenance of roads which has usually been the work of the township or county. In states where the county was the unit of administration, county officials usually made a number of small road districts and appointed an overseer for each. This plan did very well when roads were worked by the farmers who lived in the district; they used their teams and the few tools which the road district could buy. In these days of permanent road building when road construction is done with large machines, the township or small road district is not practical; the small unit cannot afford to buy the expensive machinery necessary in building modern roads, and if it could, there would not be sufficient road work to keep the machinery in use. The

county can afford to buy machinery and it has sufficient road mileage within its boundaries to keep the machinery in operation. The administration of schools and roads is an illustration of the general tendency to make the county the important unit of local government.

Villages and Cities. The words *village* and *city* are applied to groups of people, many of whom live within a comparatively small area and whose problems, therefore, differ from those who live in the country. In some sections of the country the word *town* is used in the sense of a small village rather than in the sense of a township—the use it has in New England. The terms *village* and *city* do not always have the same meaning; for example, in Alabama a village by legal definition has not more than one hundred inhabitants, while in New York it may have as many as ten thousand. Cities are organized under state laws. In some cases the states authorize them to frame charters.

The officials in villages and cities vary in proportion to population of the community. They may be roughly classed in three groups. The mayor, who is the chief administrative officer, the officials known as aldermen, councilmen, or assemblymen, who make ordinances, and various departments which are organized to do special work. The police department, organized for protection and law enforcement; the health department, organized to promote the public

The Beautiful State Capitol at Austin, Texas. The plan of many of our state capitols is similar to that of our national Capitol.

health; and the street cleaning department are examples.

State or Commonwealth. The state as a unit of government existed before the nation. It developed during the colonial period. The close of the Revolutionary War made the thirteen colonies free and independent states. Each possessed full governmental powers; England no longer controlled and no satisfactory agreement had been made by which the states shared their power with a central or national government. Upon ratifying the Constitution each state surrendered part of its power to the national government. The Constitution guarantees a republican form of government to each state; it provides that all powers not expressly given to the United States remain with the states. In this division of powers the state retained most of those which affected the people directly. Thus the power of making laws concerning marriage and divorce, ownership and transfer of land, incorporation of industries, the management of education, the organization of local units of government, and a great many other matters of importance were retained by the state.

The growing tendency to do more and more of our work in co-operation is constantly increasing the variety and importance of state laws and the work of our state officials. For example, like people in an ancient city we once took no official notice of food offered for sale; in recent years we have laws pre-

scribing its quality and state specialists to make examination or inspection. Thus the state is furnishing more expert service for its people.

The Nation. The United States is the greatest and most powerful unit of government under which we live. In the allotment of powers made by the Constitution protection from attack by other nations, regulation of our trade with foreign countries and between states, the coining of money, the management of post offices, are but a part of the important work done by our national government. Much of the work formerly done by the state is now carried on by the United States. For example, railroads which we long attempted to control by state laws are being regulated by the national government.

In general, interstate problems are dealt with by the national government. Some have feared that the increasing activities of the national government would detract too much from the importance of the states. A careful examination will show that we are doing so much more than formerly through our government that the work of the state is increasing as fast as that of the central government at Washington.

Membership in Organized Units of Government. One may be a member of a family, a resident in a school district, a citizen of a township or a city, a county, a state, and of the United States at the same time. Most of us pay taxes to support several of these units of government and these units in turn do

work for us which we could not do for ourselves. We do much more of our work through these units of government than anyone ever thought of doing "in the bad old days" or even a few years ago. Our government, which includes all of these units, is an important business—important to each of us. Under old conditions government did little for its subjects and they had little to say about how it was conducted. Even in the early days of our national history many believed government to be a necessary evil, the best being the one which did least for its people provided it let them alone. Since we expect so much of our government, no one can afford to be too busy to give attention to all these units. "Our government is part of your business and mine."

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Notice that the names of the various units of government indicate the type of service performed. National government deals with national problems, state government with state problems, and so on to the family which deals with problems of the home.

2. Observe that you are a member of several units of government.

Test Exercises

On a separate sheet of paper, write the answers to these questions. Each question can be answered by one word.

1. What is the smallest unit of government?
2. Do school trustees usually receive pay for their services?
3. Much of the work formerly done by the township has been transferred to what larger unit of government?
4. What is the name of the township, village, or city government of which you are a member?
5. You are a member of what county government?
6. You are a member of what state government?

7. You are a member of what national government?

8. Are the duties of our governmental agencies increasing or are they decreasing?

Suggested Activities

1. Use four large sheets of paper. At the top of one write "City" (or "Village" or "Town"), on the next "County," the next "State," and on the last sheet "Nation." Watch the newspapers for items on services performed by each. When you have two clippings for each sheet, attach them and bring them to class to read.

2. Make a list of the services rendered to you or your family by the government. In a column beside this list write the name of the governmental unit which renders each service.

3. Be prepared to discuss this question in class: Is personal liberty endangered by the tendency of organized government to take over more and more of the duties formerly performed by the individual or family?

CHAPTER VI

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

tun-moot, 56.
hundred-moot, 56.
shire, 56.
shire-moot, 56.
charter, 57.
crusader, 57.
Magna Charta, 58.
Great Council, 59.
Parliament, 59.
House of Commons, 60.
House of Lords, 60.
Bill of Rights, 60.
class distinction, 62.
Industrial Revolution, 65.
property qualifications, 65.
serf, 65.
suffrage, 65.
Representative, 67.
priceless heritage, 66.
Senator, 68.
hereditary lords, 71.

In order to get the correct meaning from this chapter, you need to understand these expressions as they are used on the pages indicated. Refer to the Explanation of Terms.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Notice the steps which led up to representative government as we have it today in the United States.
2. Learn the meaning of representative government and note the importance of the ballot in its maintenance.
3. Be sure that you understand the differences between the English and American systems of representative government.

The Anglo-Saxon Contribution to Government. The ancient world developed a high civilization, vast empires, and democratic city state governments in which all the citizens voted upon measures of public policy and elected officials. Sometimes, as in the case of Rome, these rights of citizenship were extended to men living hundreds of miles away. Of course, these citizens living at a distance could not

go to the city to vote and no one then seems to have thought of the plan of having one man, by his vote, represent many citizens who lived at a distance. The plan of representation was gradually worked out later by the Anglo-Saxon people from old customs and institutions of that race. The Anglo-Saxons valued personal independence very highly and believed in the rights of the individual man. They carried these ideas along with their customs into England when they conquered and occupied that country.

Local Government of the Anglo-Saxon. When the Anglo-Saxon tribes invaded England, kinsmen settled in groups known as tuns, later called townships. At appointed times the freemen of the tun assembled in their tun-moot or town meeting to transact such business as came before them. The town meeting elected a reeve, or presiding officer, and four representatives, who, with the reeve, represented the township in an assembly, the hundred-moot. After the organization of the shires (counties) the shire-moot also was made up of the reeve and four representatives from each township. These assemblies probably made a few laws, but their chief duty was settling quarrels among the tribesmen. This custom of holding local representative courts was among the most important of the Anglo-Saxon customs when the Normans conquered England.

Early Charters. The Normans were a Germanic people who had established a home in northern

France and had lived there more than a hundred years when their ruler, Duke William, conquered England. After the Anglo-Saxon king had been killed and his army defeated William marched on London. The people of the city decided to make him their king. Duke William accepted the crown as William I and gave the men of London a written document in which he declared they should continue to be governed by the laws of Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon King of England. This was the first charter of English liberty and was very brief.

When Henry I became King he was very anxious to have the loyal support of the English people. He issued a charter in which he promised to do away with the evils of the preceding reigns and rule by the laws of Edward the Confessor, which it seemed the Kings found convenient to forget. This document enumerated in detail a number of these laws and customs and has been called the parent of all later charters.

Henry II called a council and ordered it to draw up a document containing the laws and customs of Edward the Confessor, about which there was again more or less disagreement. He also revised and extended the King's Courts, making use of the representative idea which still existed in the local courts of the hundred-moot and the shire-moot.

Richard the Lion Hearted Crusader was always in need of funds for his wars. In order to raise this money he sold charters to many of the cities of Eng-

land in which he granted them rights of self government. He also extended the elective representative system of the local units of government. All the charters we have thus far mentioned had been given of the King's free will, but the next advance in English liberty was to be made against the will of the King.

The Great Charter. King John, who ruled England early in the thirteenth century, continued to engage in wars. He attempted to raise the money for these wars by taxing the people without their consent and without following the customs that had been used in taxation. He also refused to recognize the rights granted in the charters which his brother Richard had sold to the towns. Finally the great barons and churchmen held a council and agreed to resist the King. A churchman named Langston placed before the council a copy of the charter of Henry I. Using this as a basis, a new charter containing sixty-three articles was drawn up. The barons then went to the King at Runnymede and compelled him to sign the Magna Charta—the *Great Charter*. We trace our liberties back to the Magna Charta since English history before the American Revolution is our history. While the Magna Charta says nothing of representation, it went into great detail in guaranteeing the ancient rights and customs, chief among which was the right of trial by jury. It was the method of choosing juries in local

courts which later suggested the general idea of representation.

The Representative Parliament. After the death of King John, his weak, incompetent son, Henry III, repeatedly violated the provisions of the Great Charter and was compelled to sign it not less than six different times during his reign of fifty-six years. This King, too, was always needing money and frequently called upon the Great Council, composed of nobles and higher clergy, to vote funds for his use. Sometimes he called upon the shire-reeves, later called sheriffs, to send two knights from each shire to represent the common people in the Great Council. The King called these representatives of the shires because he thought he could get money from the people more readily if they had, in the Great Council, representatives who had agreed to the levy.

At one of these meetings the Great Council made the King sign a charter before granting any of his requests. This document provided that a committee of the Great Council should rule the country for the King. He soon refused to be bound by this agreement and war followed. The barons defeated the King's forces, captured the King, and took charge of the government. They compelled him to call another meeting of the Great Council to which two representatives from each town and two knights from each shire were invited to meet with the nobles and clergy. This body known as Parliament,

unlike the Great Council, included representatives from all classes of Englishmen—lords, clergy, representatives of the towns and counties (shires). The King called Parliament very often as he was frequently in need of money. As the nobles and clergy met in one hall and the representatives of the towns and counties in another, Parliament became the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

The Petition of Right. Membership in Parliament was not a popular official position. Men were not anxious to pledge themselves and their neighbors to pay taxes. Leaders soon learned to bargain with the King; they secured the right to examine the accounts of the King's officers and impeach unworthy officials. Parliament became very strong and sometimes deposed kings.

About the time the Puritans were settling New England, Parliament compelled Charles I to sign the second great charter of English liberty known as the Petition of Right. This charter among other things provided that "no man hereafter should be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, or benevolence, tax, or such like charge without common consent by act of Parliament." This was another way of saying that there should be no taxation without representation.

Bill of Rights. After signing the Petition of Right, King Charles, who was very obstinate, sent Parliament home and ruled in violation of his agreement. Finally, he needed money so badly that he was

compelled to call Parliament again. The new Parliament quarreled with Charles, refused to furnish him money, and after a long struggle put him to death. England was ruled for a time without a King. The two sons of Charles who later became Kings had not learned to respect the rights of Parliament or the people. The second of these, James II, stubbornly persisted in disregarding these rights and was driven from England. The newly elected King was compelled to sign the "Bill of Rights," the third great charter of English liberty. This document, like its predecessors, enumerated the things that it was illegal for the King to do. Among them it mentions: levying money without the consent of Parliament, suspending laws passed by Parliament, or interfering with the election of members of Parliament. It also declared that freedom of speech and debate in Parliament ought not to be called in question in any other place. All these provisions made possible more complete representation of the wishes of the people.

A New Idea of Representation. The next great development of representative government came in America. In most of the states of Europe where there was any pretense of representation, the representatives of each class were assembled in separate halls. Each group voted yes or no upon such measures as the King saw fit to put before it. Two of the three houses could carry or reject a measure. The advantage was clearly with the privileged

classes, the nobles and clergy, who usually had common interests and always had two of the three houses. As we have seen, this plan was somewhat changed by the peculiar growth of Parliament in England. There the same idea of representation by classes is found, but two of the classes, the nobles and clergy, became united in the House of Lords and the representatives of the towns and shires met together, forming the House of Commons. Every clergyman in the House of Lords represented his class, that is, all the clergymen in England; every noble in the House of Lords represented his class, that is, all the nobles in England; and every man in the House of Commons represented his class, that is, every man in England not a clergyman or a noble.

When the English settled America no political class distinctions developed. There were few nobles or clergymen of the established church among the colonists. Representation was considered by those who came to America to be one of the rights of Englishmen guaranteed in the early charters. In 1619 the first representative assembly of Americans met in Virginia. The members of the House were elected from the various counties and thus came to think of themselves as representing their respective counties. They soon represented the rights of the colony as a whole in its relations with the mother country. Thus developed the idea that a representative stood for the best interests of his colony as a whole and at the same time he was in a peculiar sense the rep-

resentative of his particular district or county. In this way the idea of representation of the people in territorial units instead of in classes of society developed in America. One of the chief causes of the American Revolution grew out of the difference of opinion in regard to territorial as opposed to class representation.

The Constitution of the United States. Our greatest charter of liberty is the Constitution of the United States. It might be called a charter of liberty for the world, since practically all democratic nations have adopted representative government modeled after either the American or the English plan.

The Constitution provides for the organization of a government. It then prohibits this government from doing any of the things the other three great charters of liberty had prohibited the English king from doing. Instead of a king, it provides for a representative of the sovereign people of the United States, elected by them, to represent them in the execution of the laws. It provides for a Congress composed of two houses, both of which are representative of territorial units. It also provides for a Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may establish; the courts represent the people in the interpretation of the laws. Thus the Constitution of the United States marks a great epoch in the development of representative government by providing for an organization, every part of which is representative of the people.

Representation and the Ballot. To be represented in a government one must have a voice or vote in

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An Electric Voting Machine. The machine casts and counts the ballots. This type of machine has not come into general use.

choosing officials. As representative government has developed, the question of who was qualified to choose the officers has always been important. In

early history the right to vote was limited to the few. The benefits of the Magna Charta were extended to all freemen, but five-sixths of the English people of that time were not free; they were serfs and were not included in the provisions of the Great Charter. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the population of England was 9,000,000, it is estimated that 15,000 voters elected a majority of the members of the House of Commons. As late as 1865 only one in six of the adult male population was permitted to vote. In America at the beginning of the nineteenth century many of the states limited suffrage by requiring property qualifications or church membership of all voters.

Something more than a century ago the Industrial Revolution caused the common man to feel far more than ever before the need of being represented in the government. The factory compelled men to move to the city to work with machinery which did not belong to them and to be herded together under unsanitary conditions which they were powerless to remedy. The Industrial Revolution increased very greatly the quantity of manufactured goods and at the same time reduced the price. This change had the effect of enabling the common man to live much better. He could now have the necessities and even some of the luxuries of life. The education of the workingman's children became a possibility. These conditions caused the first half of the nineteenth century to be a period of intense agitation for the

extension of suffrage. This agitation bore fruit in England in a series of reform bills which gave the English people practically universal manhood suffrage and made the government really representative of the people. In the United States people enjoyed a much more widely extended suffrage at the beginning of the century. The wave of democratic sentiment which swept over the country between 1820 and 1840, usually known as Jacksonian democracy, brought about universal manhood suffrage in most of the states. The suffrage bill of 1918 in England and the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gave women the ballot and completed the development of representative government in the two great English speaking nations.

The Value of Representative Government. Every citizen of our country should know something of the history of representative government. He should know of the hardships, difficulties, and struggles of our ancestors and of the conflicts which they waged to win and transmit this priceless heritage. He will then understand that representative government is an institution of slow growth, that it has been thoroughly tried out as it has developed, and that it has proved to be the most valuable plan of government the world has ever known. One who is familiar with this history will appreciate the privileges of the government which we enjoy. He will think care-

fully before giving his approval to any plan that will do away with its fundamental principles.

All Our Officers Representatives. All of the states have modeled their constitutions after the Constitution of the United States. All have representative officials in the state governments similar to those in the national government. The various state constitutions and state governments have provided governments for local communities, such as cities, counties, townships, and school districts. In each of these local units the officers, whether elected or appointed, are representatives of the people. In all cases, if these officers are doing their duty, they are doing the work of the people, for the people, and in the name of the people.

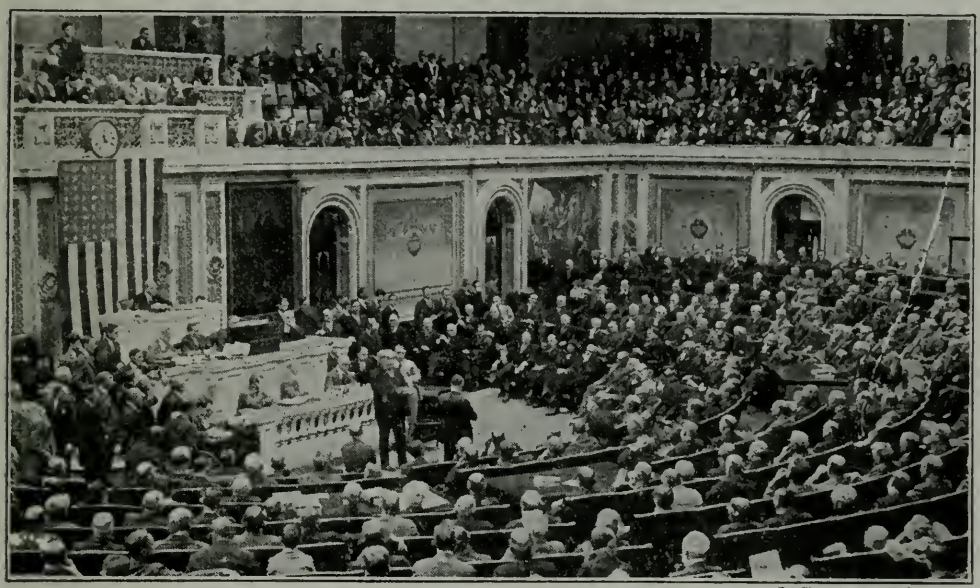
Responsibilities of a Representative. While all officers in the United States are in the broadest sense representatives of the people, certain legislative officers are called Representatives. These are the members of the lower house of Congress and of the lower house in the state legislative bodies. Senators, though not so named, are representatives in the same sense as are the members of the lower houses. The President in executing the laws is the representative of all the people of the United States. If he should give undue attention to his own state or city he would be unfavorably criticized, and justly so, because he is no more the representative of the people of his own state or city than of any other

community in the United States. His responsibility is to all of the people; his work is for the entire nation. Likewise the responsibility of a governor is to the entire state.

In the case of a member of a legislative body there is double responsibility. If he is a member of Congress he is a United States official, legislates for the entire nation, is paid from the national treasury, and passes laws that are binding upon every citizen of the country. As a lawmaker he is responsible to the entire nation and is bound by his honor and his duty to his country to do what he thinks is best for the entire nation. But he is elected by a district, or if he is a Senator, by a state, and is in a special sense the representative of his district or state. He is in this sense responsible to his district or state and can be re-elected or defeated by it. The same kind of situation exists in the case of a member of the state legislature. All legislators in our country have this double responsibility to the people of their district and in a larger sense to their state or nation. These responsibilities should never be in conflict, but in case they appear to be, the legislator should not hesitate to be guided by his greater duty to the state or to the nation as a whole.

Territorial or Class Representation. Unofficial delegates of medical associations, labor unions, teachers' federations, and other organizations with class interests are often sent to Congress or to state legislatures to furnish information which may se-

cure favorable consideration of proposed laws which they wish to have passed. In a perfectly honest way they work for or against pending measures. Senators and Representatives know, of course, that these delegates represent the interest of special classes;



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A Scene in the House of Representatives. Important legislation is being enacted, as is indicated by the large number of Representatives present on the main floor and by the galleries packed with spectators.

the laws they urge may or may not be for the "greatest good to the greatest number." In this unofficial way there are in the United States many hundreds of persons who represent "special interests" in lawmaking.

Honest Elections. In order to safeguard our representative government we must have honest elections as well as honesty in the officials who are elected. Properly conducted elections in which every

legally qualified voter has an opportunity to cast one vote—not more than one—and has that vote counted, lie at the foundation of representative government as established in this country. If we do not have an honest election, the man or woman who secures the election certificate is not the representative of the voters, but the agent of those who manipulated the election. If the official knows that he secured his position through dishonest means, whether it be an appointive or elective position, he is likely to take instruction from those who helped him to secure the office in this way. In such a case it is evident that he has lost all sense of what is right and wrong, as well as the spirit of fair play that should govern one who is to represent the best interests of the people in a democracy.

Comparison of the English and American Systems. Sometimes we hear the English government praised as being more representative of the people than our government. In some particulars this may be true, but before agreeing that the English system is better because in some ways it responds more quickly to changes in popular opinion than ours, we should make a careful comparison. The following are a few of the more important differences in the two governments.

1. In England there is but one kind of official elected to represent the people in the government. That official is a member of the House of Commons. All other officials obtain their positions directly or

indirectly through the action of the House of Commons except in the case of the hereditary officials (chief of whom are the members of the House of Lords) and such subordinate officials as may be appointed by them. In the United States we elect two distinct kinds of representatives, our executive officials, such as the President and governors, and our lawmakers, who correspond to the members of the House of Commons. We also elect our Senators who correspond to the hereditary Lords in England. A member of the House of Commons does not represent his district but represents all the common people of England. Frequently he does not live in the district which elects him. He has but one responsibility, the responsibility to the nation as a whole. Each member of an American legislative body, state or national, represents his district and is responsible to the people of his district for his official action. At the same time he has a higher and greater responsibility, that to his nation or his state.

2. Members of the House of Commons are elected for a term of five years. If the politicians managing the political party in power can agree for five years, the people in England can have no chance to approve or disapprove of governmental action for that length of time. But politicians, even those holding office and members of the same party, can seldom agree that long. The leader of the majority party has the power to dissolve Parliament and order a new election. That means that he can bring the

term of office of every member of the House to an end and order a new election at any time a measure he has proposed is defeated. In actual practice an English Parliament may end any day. Sometimes there are two elections within a year. An election is usually held when political discussion and excitement upon some one question is at its height and members of Parliament are elected solely with regard to their position upon that one question. Members of our House of Representatives are elected for a term of two years. There is no power to dissolve a Congress. There may be ever so much excitement upon some question, but the people do not elect a new Congress to deal with that particular question. The Congress in which the question arises must deal with it or the settlement is delayed until the next regular election. Even then the people do not elect members of Congress with regard to one question alone. They elect Congressmen to represent them for a definite period of years in dealing with any questions that may arise during that time. The English system is much more like direct government than is the American system. In England one particular measure is usually in the mind of the voter. In America a large number of measures make up the platform of a party. The candidate is of greater importance in America than he is in England.

In the House of Commons the political leaders are relatively far more important than are the political leaders in Congress. About all the ordinary mem-

ber of the House of Commons can do is to vote as his leaders direct. He does not introduce bills, is never responsible for the passage of a measure, and does not debate unless assigned by the leaders to do so. In Congress any member may introduce bills, or debate them, and each member must look after bills in which he is particularly interested. No one is bound to vote with the leader of his party to prevent his term of office from coming to an abrupt close.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Observe that the Constitution of the United States is the outgrowth of various charters and bills of rights acquired in the struggle for self-government.

2. Note that only those who have and exercise the right to vote have a voice in the government.

3. Notice that class representation is a characteristic of the English system of government and that territorial representation is a characteristic of the American system.

Test Exercises

1. Each of the items in the first column below may be completed by one of the items in the second column. Write together in pairs the two letters representing the items which make a true statement.

(a) The first charter of English liberty was given by	(a) developed in America.
(b) The first Parliament met during the reign of	(b) James II.
(c) The first King to raise money by selling charters to the cities was	(c) Magna Charta.
(d) A new idea of representative government	(d) Charles I.
(e) King John, at Runnymede, signed the	(e) Constitution of the United States.
(f) "No taxation without representation" in the Petition of Right was signed by	(f) Richard the Lion Hearted.

(g)	Freedom of speech, granted in the Bill of Rights, was recognized by	(g) Henry III.
(h)	The greatest charter of liberty is the	(h) William I.
(i)	The membership of the House of Lords is	(i) elective.
(j)	The membership of the United States Senate is	(j) hereditary.

2. On a slip of paper, write an "E" opposite each of these items if the item is a characteristic of the English system of government; write an "A" if it is a characteristic of the American system; and write "EA" if it is a characteristic of both systems.

(a) Many representatives elected by the people.
(b) Has hereditary officials.
(c) The law-making body is composed of two houses.
(d) Has class representation.
(e) Holds a new election when the leaders in the law-making body disagree.
(f) There is no power to dissolve the legislative body.
(g) Elections usually based on many issues or on ability of candidate.
(h) Political leaders are of relatively great importance.
(i) Members of the legislative body may introduce bills.
(j) An official may vote as he chooses without fear of losing his office at once.

Suggested Activities

1. Show how the use of representatives increased the number who could co-operate in democratic government.

2. Find out what percentage of those entitled to vote in the last election held in your county or city actually voted.

3. Tell why you think an elected officer should or should not follow the wishes of those who elected him when they conflict with his own judgment.

4. Find out the qualifications for voting in your state.

5. Dramatize informally the following five steps in the development of representative government:

Act I. The Early Charters. (You may have four scenes.)
Scene 1. William the Conqueror gives the men of London a written document in which he agrees to rule by the laws of Edward the Confessor.
Scene 2. Henry I gives a new charter renewing the promises to rule by the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Scene 3. Henry II draws up still another document containing the laws of Edward the Confessor.
Scene 4. Richard the Lion Hearted sells charters to many of the towns of England.

Act II. The Great Charter.
King John meets his barons at Runnymede, 1215, and signs and seals the famous Magna Charta.

Act III. The Petition of Right.
Charles I signs the Petition of Right which establishes the principle of no taxation without representation.

Act IV. The Bill of Rights.
William III is compelled to sign the Bill of Rights.

Act V. America's contribution to representative government. (You may have three scenes.)
Scene 1. Signing the Declaration of Independence.
Scene 2. The surrender of Cornwallis—as a result of which the English government recognized the independence of the American colonies.
Scene 3. Adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

These are incidents of importance in the history of representative government. Each act may be introduced by a brief discussion of the historical background of the incident and a statement of the rights and privileges each document guarantees. The possibilities of using pupils from other grades to make up the necessary "retainers," "barons," and "signers of the Constitution" is apparent.

The pupils' efforts may at first seem crude and the task formidable, but if they result in spontaneous reaction to the knowledge gained from the study of this chapter, the efforts of both teacher and pupils will be highly repaid. This furnishes an opportunity for the child to do original work and original work is, after all, the goal in education.

6. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:
   (a) Resolved, That a Congressman should support a measure that is of unquestioned value to the whole country although it may be detrimental to his own district or state.
   (b) Resolved, That the national House of Representatives is too large.

7. Choose sides and debate this question: Resolved, That the English system of government is more democratic than the American system.

CHAPTER VII

NATIONAL AND STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Do You Know These Terms?

Constitution, 76.
Stamp Act, 79.
Articles of Confederation, 82.
central government, 82.
ratified, 83.
Preamble, 85.
legislative department, 86.
judicial department, 86.
executive department, 86.
federal government, 86.
trading company, 87.
commonwealth, 88.
constitutional convention, 88.
unwritten constitution, 90.

To get the thought expressed in this chapter, you must understand these words and phrases as they are used on the pages indicated. Write a statement using each.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Notice the reasons for favoring union and also the obstacles to union.
2. Learn the four purposes accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.
3. Find out how state constitutions develop and how they may be amended.

Liberty and Union. The Constitution of the United States stands for two distinct ideas which have been declared to be inseparable—Liberty and Union. It is the greatest charter of liberty ever given to the world. It includes the important provisions won by Englishmen in their struggles with Kings. In addition it contains prohibitions and guarantees intended to prevent a repetition of the tyranny which the colonies had suffered under George III.

The Constitution was more than a charter of liberty. It was the first written constitution of a national state—the first document in the world's history which created an organized national government. Liberty had been developed through centuries of conflict in England and America; union of all Americans under one government was a new idea requiring time for its acceptance among the scattered colonies.

Isolation of the Colonies. The first English colonies in America were separated from each other by great distances. Usually the only way of communicating between them was by water. The colonists could communicate with each other by traveling along the sea coast and then up a river in boats, but it was easier to find a ship that was going to England than to find one going from colony to colony. Another thing that tended to keep the colonies in isolation was the fact that the people of one colony frequently were in different circumstances and had different customs, ideals, and religion from those in other colonies. For example, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Puritans of Massachusetts, the Cavaliers of Virginia, the Dutch of New York, and the freed debtors of Georgia each had marked group peculiarities.

In spite of these differences, the colonies were enough alike to make union possible. Four-fifths of the people spoke the English language; they had the heritage of English customs and law. Only im-

mediate needs and common problems were necessary to bring about union. Though difficulty of communication among the colonies retarded growth of union, each problem solved together strengthened the idea.

The New England Confederation. The first common need was that of protection from the Indians and foreign colonies. In New England in 1643 there were five colonies located comparatively near each other, having similar religious beliefs and similar customs. Four of these colonies, Connecticut, New Haven, Massachusetts, and Plymouth, formed a union called the New England Confederation. Their purpose was defense against the Indians and Dutch. This league continued to exist for forty years. Traces of it may be found in the Constitution of the United States.

The Albany Congress. The next need which became common to a number of the colonies was that of protection from the French and the Indians. Between 1689 and 1763 France and England fought four long wars. Naturally the French and the English colonies in America fought one another. The French were aided by Indian allies, and the English colonies were in continual danger of attack from the French and the Indians. Both the King of England and William Penn suggested a union of the colonies for defense, but nothing was done. Finally during the last of these French and Indian wars a congress met at Albany in 1754 to plan for protec-

tion against the common enemy. Seven colonies sent delegates. A plan presented by Benjamin Franklin for a permanent union was approved by the congress and referred to the colonies. But neither the colonies nor the English government favored the plan. The colonies thought that it gave too much power to the King; the English government considered it too democratic.

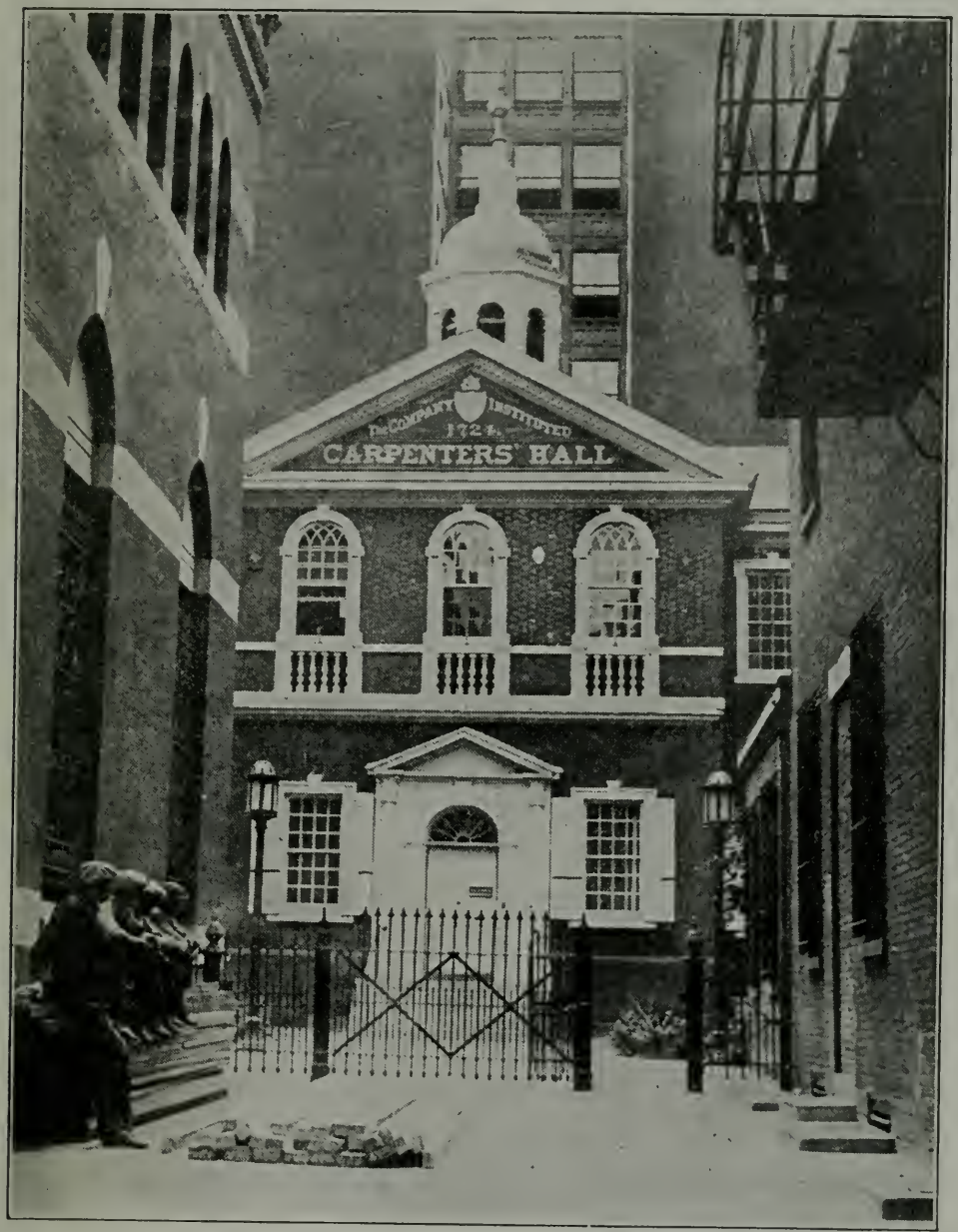
The Stamp Act Congress. The next step in the development of union was caused by the need for united action in resisting the efforts of England to tax the colonies. The English Parliament passed a stamp act in 1765, two years after the close of the French and Indian war. Resistance to the tax immediately developed in all the colonies. Lawyers declared that Colonial Assemblies had the sole power to levy taxes in America. A patriotic organization called "Sons of Liberty" was formed. The spirit of resistance caused a demand for united action. Nine colonies sent delegates to a Stamp Act Congress which drew up two formal documents. One was a petition to the British government asking for the repeal of the Stamp Act; the other was a statement of "the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievance under which they labor." This statement furnished common ground for resisting the English government in asserting American rights. It was a landmark in the development of union.

Committees of Correspondence. Parliament re-

pealed the Stamp Act but like a stubborn child declared it had a right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." Other tax laws were passed later which the colonists likewise resisted. Since they had no continuing congress to plan united resistance to the acts of Parliament, Committees of Correspondence were appointed for this purpose by the legislatures. These furnished a means of communication and secured co-operation in resisting the British. They form an important step in the development of the union.

First Continental Congress. British oppressive acts continued to increase in number and severity. Because of the Boston Tea Party, severe Parliamentary laws were directed against Massachusetts. Faced with a common danger, all the colonies except Georgia sent delegates to a congress at Philadelphia. This congress met in September, 1774. This First Continental Congress petitioned the King for repeal of the oppressive measures, made a statement of rights and grievances, and signed a non-importation agreement by which the delegates promised not to trade with England until the unjust laws were changed.

The Second Continental Congress. Under the necessity of defending themselves against the Indians, Dutch, and French, and under the pressure of the tyrannical measures of the British government, the colonies had made much progress toward unity of action, but it took war to lead to the formation of



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Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. Here the First Continental Congress met on Sept. 5, 1774. The building is still standing and is one of the chief points of interest in Philadelphia.

a real working union. When the delegates to the Second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1775, the battle of Lexington had been fought and actual war was in progress. Without definite authority but acting in the emergency of war this Congress governed as the representative body of the colonies. It provided for an army and chose Washington commander, issued paper money, made treaties and plans for winning the war. The people approved of its action and obeyed its laws. A real union had been formed, but all recognized that this union was temporary and that it would last only as long as war continued. In 1777 Congress proposed a written agreement known as the Articles of Confederation as a basis for permanent union. When these Articles were adopted, which did not happen until 1781, they were intended to make permanent the union formed to win the war. The Second Continental Congress then adjourned, after having ruled the country for six years.

Articles of Confederation. Before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Benjamin Franklin suggested to Congress a plan of union somewhat like the one he had proposed at the Albany Congress in 1755. His plan provided for a strong central government with the states represented according to population. But the idea of union and nationality was not yet strong enough to support a government of that type. After debating for more than a year, Congress adopted the Articles of

Confederation. They were to go into effect when ratified by all the states. Four more years passed before Maryland, the last of the states, ratified.

The Articles of Confederation placed all powers in a Congress of one house in which each state had one vote. There were to be citizens of the separate states, but no United States citizenship. Congress could not levy taxes, enlist soldiers, or perform any act of government which affected individual citizens directly. It could ask the states for money, soldiers, ships, or supplies, but it could not compel them to comply with a single request. It could make treaties with foreign nations, but could not enforce them. When the pressure of war was removed, the various states did not respond to the acts of Congress as they had done in war times and the central government gradually grew weaker. Disorder was common and sometimes there was rebellion and open defiance of law.

Calling of the Constitutional Convention. Congress had no power to control commerce or trade among the states, and consequently there were many disputes. Virginia and Maryland appointed commissioners in 1785 to meet at Alexandria and make rules concerning the navigation of Chesapeake Bay. These commissioners recommended commercial rules, which, to have effect, needed to be adopted by all the states. Virginia and Maryland then proposed that a convention composed of delegates from all the states meet at Annapolis to make uniform

rules for commerce. Only five states sent representatives. These representatives realized that any rules made by only five of the thirteen states would hardly be worth making. The discussion revealed that there were many other subjects which should be considered. The Annapolis convention, therefore, recommended to the governors of the states that a constitutional convention be called to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787.

The Constitutional Convention. The convention which assembled in Philadelphia was composed of fifty-five delegates. Rhode Island, the only state not represented, had elected General Green as a delegate, but he died before the convention assembled. The fact that every state selected delegates indicates that all recognized the necessity of forming a "more perfect union." A number of the ablest men in America were members of the convention. George Washington was elected president. James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and Charles Pinckney were present as delegates. Differences of opinion immediately developed as to the purpose of the convention. One group thought that an entirely new constitution should be written. Another believed that the convention should confine its work to a revision of the Articles of Confederation. James Madison submitted the Virginia plan, a draft of an entirely new constitution, which provided for three departments of government. After much discussion, Madison's Virginia plan was adopted. This

was a victory for a real union. Four months of hard work, earnest debate, and compromise followed. Thirteen of the fifty-five delegates, among them Patrick Henry, became dissatisfied and withdrew from the convention. Three of those who remained refused to sign the completed document. The Constitution was finally agreed upon and signed by thirty-nine of the delegates September 17, 1787. After many arguments, it was ratified by nine states, the number required. The union of the states under a Constitution which provided a central government that could be made strong and effective was now an accomplished fact.

The Constitution. The term *constitution* in any discussion relating to the meaning or content of the Constitution of the United States includes the amendments to the original document. Considered as a whole, the Constitution accomplished four purposes. First, it placed authority in the people; second, it provided for the organization of the government; third, it made a division of governmental powers between the United States and the states; fourth, it defined a field of individual liberty.

1. *A Union of the People.* "WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." This language makes impossible a mere league of states and creates a government of the people. The states are not mentioned as such in the Preamble. Nowhere is there

the slightest hint that the authority for the formation of the government is derived from the states. The new nation was and is an organization of people, not of states.

2. *The Organization of the Government.* Articles One to Three provide for three separate departments. Article One deals with the legislative department whose powers are vested in a Congress of two Houses.

Article Two provides for an executive department which consists of a President and Vice-President, who represent the people in the execution of the laws.

Article Three provides for a judicial or law interpreting department.

3. *Division of Powers.* The makers of our Constitution enumerated in Article One, Section Eight, eighteen powers which they gave to the central government. They prohibited it from exercising eight powers which are named in Article One, Section Nine, and they prohibited the states from doing any of the things listed in Article One, Section Ten. The United States is a federal government because its powers are divided between central and state governments.

4. *The Field of Individual Liberty.* Individual liberty includes all that a government has no Constitutional right to require its citizens to do or not to do. Individual liberty is guaranteed in the prohibitions against Congress and in the first ten amendments which may be called a bill of rights. All

citizens under our Constitution have freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, and religious liberty; no one can "be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

Early State Constitutions. State constitutions have their beginning in the charters of the early trading companies. The charters granted to the Virginia and Plymouth Companies necessarily made provisions for the government of the colonists.

The first written constitution made in America was the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," drawn up in 1639. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War six colonies had written charters or constitutions and seven were ruled through instructions to their governors, but the general form of government was the same in all. Each colony had a governor, a legislature usually of two houses, and courts composed of judges appointed by the governors or by the king.

When the royal governors were driven out, the people were compelled to establish governments to take the place of those which had been overthrown. The first Continental Congress passed a resolution advising some of the colonies to establish governments for themselves and promising military assistance if it were needed. This was the beginning of state governments. Following this advice all the colonies adopted constitutions before 1781 except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which used their charters. The name *state* was adopted by all the

new organizations except Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, which used the term *commonwealth.* These early constitutions were short documents and were usually made up of two parts. The first made a statement of individual rights; the other provided for the organization of a government.

How State Constitutions are Made. Though not always followed exactly in adopting early constitutions, a common plan has come to be followed in recent years.

1. A resolution giving the people an opportunity to vote on the question of calling a constitutional convention must be passed by the legislature. Most states require a two-thirds vote in both houses to pass such a resolution.

2. The question is submitted to the people either at a general election or at a special election held for that purpose.

3. The people having voted in favor of calling a convention, a special election for the election of delegates to the convention is called.

4. The convention meets and drafts a constitution.

5. The constitution is submitted to the people usually at a special election called for that purpose. If the people vote in favor of the new constitution, it is adopted. This process is slow and difficult. It makes constitutions hard to change. A law which once becomes a part of a state constitution is likely to remain a law for a long time, for legislative action cannot change it.

Recent State Constitutions. In addition to the bill of rights and the organization of the government formerly provided, recent state constitutions usually have a great deal of space devoted to detailed laws upon such subjects as corporations, education, and taxation. Thus constitutions have become very long. But they are filled with details which must be modified frequently to make them fit changing conditions and this makes it necessary to provide easier methods for amendment and revision. When constitutions become more like ordinary law they are less stable and permanent, and less respected.

Amendments to Constitutions. The Constitution of the United States authorizes two methods of amendment but only one has been used. According to that method the proposed amendment must be passed by the two houses of Congress receiving a two-thirds vote in each house. It must then be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. State constitutions require the submission of amendments by the state legislature. Usually a two-thirds vote of each house is required to submit an amendment to a vote of the people.

How We Find the Meaning of Constitutions. In America the meaning of the language of our constitutions is interpreted by our courts. The Supreme Court of the United States determines the meaning of the Constitution of the United States and the state courts interpret state constitutions. Legislative bodies occasionally pass laws which our courts

declare unconstitutional. That is, the courts say that some part of the constitution prohibits the government from doing the things that are provided for in the law that the courts declare unconstitutional. Through this power of interpreting the meaning of our constitutions the courts sometimes change the application of our constitutions as much as an amendment would change them.

The Unwritten Constitution. Sometimes people talk about "the unwritten constitution." We frequently hear people say that England's constitution is unwritten. This is not strictly true because important parts of it such as the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights are written. But there is no written document providing for the organization of the government. Parliament, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the courts all exist because of custom and are not provided for in any written instrument.

In the same way there are many parts of our government that are not provided for or even mentioned in our Constitution. The President's cabinet is one. Political parties are another. Much of our court practice is determined by precedent and custom. Customs and practices that have become a regular part of our government are called "the unwritten constitution."

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Be sure you understand how the Constitution provides for liberty and union at the same time.

2. Note how the Constitution of the United States developed out of the colonists' desire for a guarantee of self-government, the need for protection from a common enemy, and the wish to secure satisfactory trade relations among themselves.

Test Exercises

1. The following conventions and congresses had much to do with the development of union. On a slip of paper write the letters "a" to "g" in a column, representing the conventions below. In another column beside these letters, write the letter representing the thing accomplished by each convention.

Conventions	*Accomplishments*
(a) New England Confederation e	(a) Made a statement of rights and grievances.
(b) Albany Congress g	(b) Drew up a statement of rights, liberties and grievances of the colonists.
(c) Stamp Act Congress b	(c) Governed as the representative body of the colonies.
(d) Committees of Correspondence f	(d) Drew up the Constitution of the United States.
(e) First Continental Congress a	(e) Provided defense against the Indians and Dutch.
(f) Second Continental Congress c	(f) Secured co-operation in resisting the British.
(g) Constitutional Convention d	(g) Approved a plan for a permanent union.

2. How many states were represented in the Constitutional Convention? 12

3. Make a list of the four purposes accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.

4. How many states had to ratify the Constitution before it became effective? 9

5. Name the five steps necessary to make a state constitution. p. 88

6. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States must be ratified by the legislatures of how many states?

7. Who interprets the meaning of the Constitution of the United States?

8. Is the President's cabinet provided for in the Constitution?

Suggested Activities

1. The Constitution has seven articles and there are twenty-one amendments listed as articles, all of which are numbered with Roman numerals. The articles are divided into sections also numbered with Roman numerals, and the sections are divided into clauses numbered with figures. "Clause" in this sense does not have the same meaning as in grammar. It indicates the smallest numbered division of the Constitution as it is written or printed. It is very easy to find any reference to subjects discussed in the Constitution. By referring to the Constitution printed in the back of the book, tell what subjects are discussed in each of these references:

Art. I. Sec. II. Clause 2.
Art. I. Sec. V. Clause 4.
Amendment XIV. Sec. I.
Art. I. Sec. VIII. Clause 18.
Art. II. Sec. IV.

2. Compare the methods necessary to amend the Constitution of the United States and state constitutions.

3. Dramatize informally the Constitutional Convention, including the following points:

(a) The election of George Washington as president of the Convention and William Jackson as secretary.

(b) The statement by George Washington, "If, to please the people, we offer that which we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and noble can repair; the event is in the hand of God."

(c) The proposal by Edmund Randolph for a national government with two houses of congress and proportional representation.

(d) The bitter debate between Alexander Hamilton and Robert Morris, Morris contending that representation in Congress should depend upon population and Hamilton insisting upon uniform representation.

(e) The proposal by Roger Sherman as a compromise—later known as the Connecticut Compromise.

(f) The vote on the Connecticut Compromise.

(g) The signing of the Constitution.
(h) Adjournment.

4. Draft a constitution for the management of a club which you would like to organize—it may be a debating society, a golf club, or a bird lovers' league.

5. In a brief talk, not to exceed three minutes, give your opinion as to what would have been the effect upon growth of union among the colonies:

(a) If good roads had connected them.
(b) If the automobile and airplane had been available as a means of transportation.
(c) If each had used a different language.
(d) If the radio had been in use then as a means of communication.
(e) If there had been no common enemy.

PART TWO

THE PLAN AND MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL PARTIES

Do You Know These Terms?

voluntary organization, 95.
electoral college, 95.
strict construction, 96.
liberal construction, 96.
extra-legal, 97.
delegate at large, 98.
alternate, 100.
precinct, 101.
"spoils system," 101.
party machinery, 103.
intimidation, 102.
Australian Ballot, 104.
straight party ticket, 104.
repeaters, 105.

Citizens sometimes make mistakes in voting because they do not understand the meaning of expressions like those above which they find in newspapers. Explain these as you think intelligent voters should understand them.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Be sure you understand how the convention system is organized and how it operates in placing men in office.
2. Find out why the convention system has been replaced by the direct primary in many states.
3. Note how the direct primary operates.
4. Note the importance of political parties.

Voluntary Organizations. People are often interested in furthering work not regularly performed by any organized unit, previously considered, such as the family, the school district, and the state. Men

and women who believe that their community should furnish a place for religious services may meet and organize a church. Since no one is forced to join, such an organized group is called a voluntary organization. There are many such organizations in the United States. Additional examples are lodges, local baseball clubs, and labor unions.

In the study of our government we are especially interested in a particular kind of voluntary organization. Since the people in a democracy rule themselves, there must be some agreement about what should be done. Consequently, those who believe in a particular policy or principle of government may form a voluntary organization for the express purpose of getting their beliefs adopted. In order to attain its end, the group must control the officials who carry out the principles and policies of government. Hence, the organization must nominate and elect candidates who will accept its beliefs. Such a voluntary organization we call a political party.

In brief, a political party is a voluntary organization which advocates certain principles and policies of government and tries to nominate and to elect governmental officials who will carry out its principles and policies.

The men who wrote the Constitution of the United States did not contemplate the formation of political parties. The plan of an electoral college for the election of President was deliberately worked out to secure his election without popular political action.

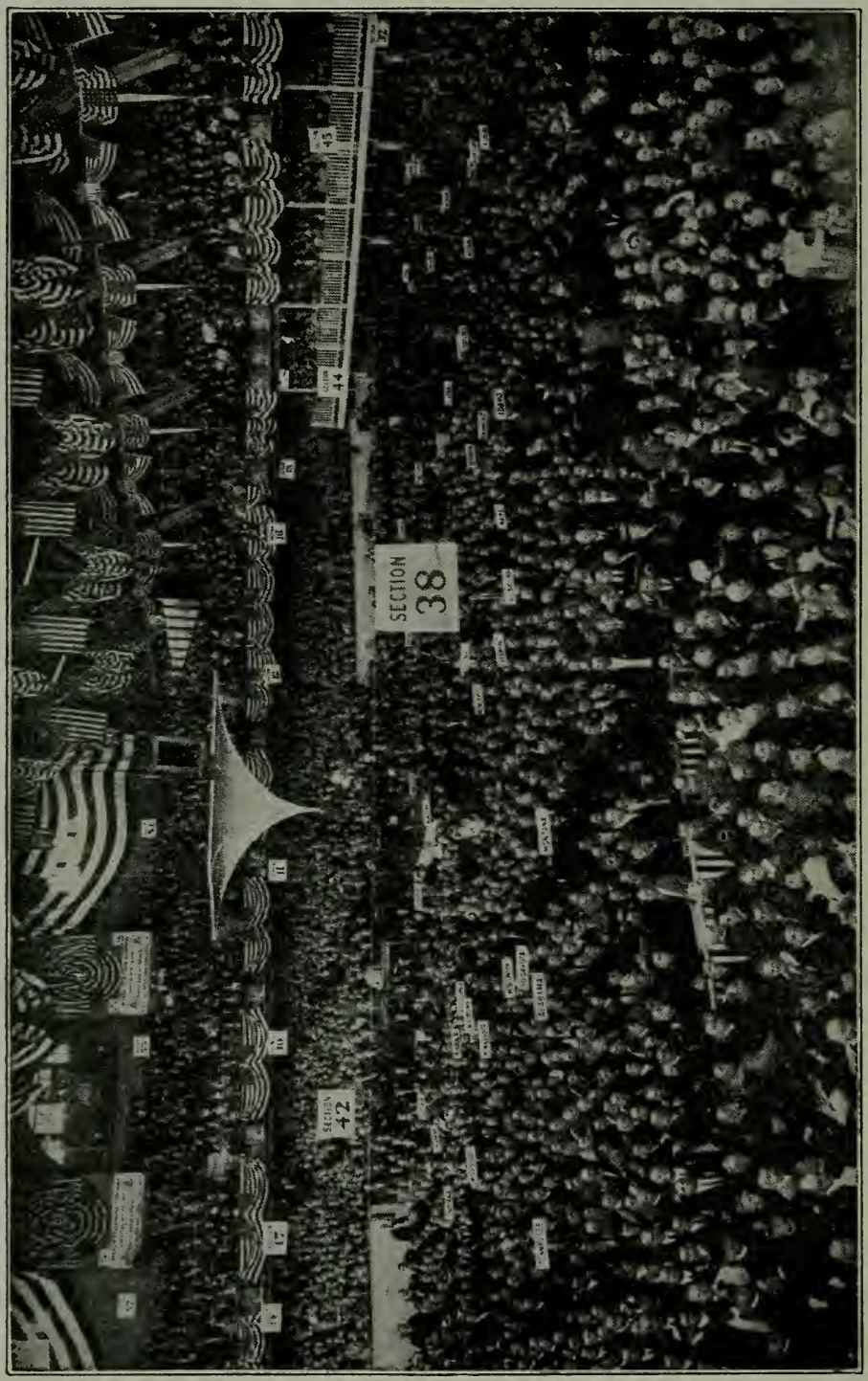
However, men at that time were divided into two fairly well defined groups upon the question of the strength or weakness of the central government. Many who believed in a strong central government advocated the ratification of the Constitution. Many who believed that the central government should not be strong opposed ratification. This general division continued after the Constitution was adopted. Those who believed in a strong central government favored liberal construction of the Constitution. This would give officials great power. Those who opposed a strong central government urged strict construction of the Constitution. This would limit the power of government officials. These two groups were known as Federalists and Anti-federalists.

Caucus Nominations. Neither Federalists nor Anti-federalists had any general organization such as political parties now have. There was no recognized plan for nominating candidates. Men, urged by their friends, announced themselves as candidates for office or were put in nomination by some group who agreed with them on political questions. After a time these friends, who included the most influential politicians from all parts of the country were found in large numbers as members of Congress. These groups in Congress met and nominated candidates for President and Vice-President. This was called nomination by caucus. In state legislatures political caucuses nominated candidates for state office. Soon state legislatures began nominat-

ing candidates for the Presidency. But the power of nominating candidates is too important to be assumed by any small group. The caucus method was discredited and a new method of nominating by conventions was substituted for it.

The Nominating Convention. Nominating conventions were first used for choosing state and local candidates. They were usually called through the influence of party newspapers. Nominating conventions were first held by both leading political parties in 1840. Their general use made a strong, permanent, political organization necessary. Like local baseball teams, these early political organizations were purely voluntary; they were not recognized by law at all until within recent years and many of their activities are still extra-legal, that is, not provided for and of course not prohibited by law.

Party Organization. Permanent party organization came into existence before the middle of the nineteenth century. The people of small units such as the township, the voting precinct, and the ward in cities, form the basis of the organization. One or more committeemen are selected in each of these units by the qualified voters of the party. All of these committeemen in a unit, such as the county or city, meet and organize by electing a chairman and secretary. This organization is known as the county or city committee. Its officers have a great deal of political power. They call mass or delegate conventions which select delegates to district and state con-



A National Convention Nominating a Candidate for the Presidency

ventions. These various conventions provide for their permanent committeemen. Thus each party has a permanent county and state committee. A convention or primary in each congressional district nominates delegates to the national convention and a state convention nominates delegates at large. The delegates from each state at the national convention select the national committeeman or committee woman for their state. In that way a permanent national committee is formed. Each committee member is a permanent official of his party and serves until his successor is elected. The committee member is the chosen representative of the voters of the party which he represents. He is so considered by the men elected to office by his party and his endorsement has great weight in determining the appointments in his district. All power of party leaders is based upon the idea of representation expressed through the party organization.

How the Convention-Committee System Works. Let us see how the plan actually operates. Suppose a Presidential election is to be held. Most state and local officials are elected at the same time as the President. The Presidential election thus furnishes the best example of the system at work.

The national committee meets at some convenient city like Washington or Chicago. This committee decides upon the time and place of holding the national convention and also upon the basis of representation in the convention. The national chair-

man issues the official call for the convention. The state, congressional, and county committees are then called together by their respective chairmen. Each committee decides upon a time and place for holding a nominating convention. Usually county conventions are held earlier than the others as the county is the unit generally used for sending delegates to the other conventions.

The county chairman in his call designates a time and place for holding a mass meeting (in some vicinities called a primary). Mass meetings are supposed to be attended by all voters of the party residing in the precinct. The mass meeting elects delegates to the county convention and nominates candidates for township or ward offices. The county convention elects delegates to the state convention and makes nominations for county offices. The state convention makes nominations for state offices and elects four delegates at large and four alternates to the national convention. Usually the delegates at the state convention from each congressional district elect the state committeeman. The congressional convention nominates a candidate for congress and elects two delegates and two alternates to the national convention. At the national convention, the party platform is formulated and nominations are made for the offices of President and Vice-President.

There are frequent variations from the general plan outlined above. For example, there may be two state conventions called at different times and

places—one to nominate candidates for state offices and another to select delegates to the national convention. Whatever variations there are the whole system is a representative one and rests upon the will of the voters expressed in the precinct mass meetings. If all good citizens had been ready and willing to give a large amount of time to politics and if everyone acted fairly and according to rule, real representative control of party organization would have prevailed, but abuses grew up which have brought the whole system into disrepute.

Abuses of the Convention-Committee System. There is an immense amount of hard work connected with party organization. Delegates to conventions must pay their own expenses. Committeemen must pay their expenses to meetings of committees. Men who give their time and money to a political organization usually feel that they are entitled to remuneration of some kind. About the time of the development of the nominating convention and party committees, the "spoils system" came into practice in both our state and national politics. Thus there was placed at the disposal of party leaders public offices with which party workers might be paid. The ability to bestow public office increased the power of the political leader. Sometimes instead of being the representative of the voters of his district, the person elected became the leader of a group of office-seekers. Such a political leader often resorted to dishonest practices to secure his election, and

after being elected he distributed various jobs and appointive offices to those friends who had helped him secure the office. The money that such a political leader needed to carry on his campaign was collected from corporations or individuals who expected favors after the election. Such tactics, of course, are not in accordance with the best interests of representative government. Under such conditions the government was controlled by party organizations and did not represent the will of the people, which is the object of a real democracy. Such conditions, of course, defeat the will of the majority and endanger political liberty.

Reforms. The chief trouble seemed to lie in the lack of representative control of party activity. There was no law to regulate parties or party action. The most noticeable evils grew up in connection with fraudulent ballots, bribery, and intimidation of voters. Many states have recently passed laws to safeguard elections, to provide for the printing of ballots at public expense, and their distribution by public officials, to prohibit corporations from making campaign contributions, to limit the expenditure of candidates, to regulate party organizations, and to prescribe methods of conducting elections. But the political leader, with his well-organized group of followers, can comply with all these laws, or evade them, and still control party action.

1. *The Direct Primary.* As a remedy for improperly controlled conventions the direct primary

has been adopted in most states. Instead of voting for a representative who goes to convention and, together with other representatives of the voters of other districts, nominates candidates, the voter votes directly for the candidates. Each man interested in competing for a certain office files with a specified official, many times the county clerk, a petition signed by a certain number of voters, stating his intention to run for that office. After the petitions have been received for all offices for which the election is being held, an official ballot is prepared for each party and on it the voters vote directly for the men of their choice. The direct primary laws usually leave the committees as they were but make provisions for the election of the precinct committeemen by direct vote.

The party machinery has been adapted to the new plan; but the direct primary has failed to produce some of the results expected. It has failed to bring out the vote. It has sometimes proved very expensive to candidates. Many claim that it has not improved the character of our public officials, and that it has failed to destroy the power of the boss. Efforts are being made to remedy the defects of present primary laws.

The great objection to the direct primary holds against all forms of direct government. That is the fact that each voter, no matter how intelligent, cannot know all the candidates for all offices in a large district or state. He must, therefore, vote blindly

if he votes at all. It is safe to say that whatever progress is made toward good government, or the control of party organization which is the means through which the people govern, must be made by first securing a free, honest, intelligent ballot not only for governmental officials but also for members of the party organization.

2. *The Ballot.* In the early history of the country voting was done by voice. Ballots prepared, printed, and distributed by the party organization gradually came into use. The party worker could easily put a printed ballot into the hands of the voter and see that he voted it. Corruption, bribery, and intimidation became worse than before the days of printed ballots. Abuses at polling places became so bad that states passed laws regulating the use of ballots which thus became official, printed at public expense, distributed by public officials, and their form and use prescribed by law.

3. *The Australian Ballot.* Many types and forms of ballots have been used, but most states have come to use a form known as the Australian Ballot. In this form the names of all candidates are printed on one large sheet. In the form generally used names of candidates of each political party are printed in one column. This arrangement makes it easy to vote a straight party ticket. Along with the Australian Ballot came secret voting. Laws require polling places to be equipped with booths. The voter is given his ballot, goes into a booth alone, where he

prepares it ready for the ballot box. Party workers are kept a specified distance from the polling place. The number of judges and clerks and their selection are prescribed by law. There is usually an equal number of judges and clerks from each of the two leading parties. Provisions are made for allowing election officials to mark the ballot of any voter who cannot mark his own.

Importance of the Ballot. Democracy or government by the people depends entirely upon an honest vote and a fair count of the votes cast. If there is dishonesty and fraud, if repeaters are allowed to vote, if bribery is practiced, or if the returns are falsified, the will of the people is not expressed by the election. If such practices continue until elections do not express the will of the people, we do not have government by the people. The rapid growth of cities has made the task of safeguarding the ballot a very difficult one. In a large city no one knows all the people in a ward or election precinct. To prevent dishonest men from voting where they are not entitled to vote the election laws require registration. Certain days, a few weeks before the election, are set apart for this purpose. Every voter must go to his polling place on one of these days and give his name, age, place of residence, and any other information required by law. Registration enables officials to investigate each person to see if he is entitled to vote. If for any reason he is not legally qualified, his name is taken from the registration books, which

means that he will not be allowed to vote. Even with all possible precautions it is difficult to prevent illegal voting and fraud in our thickly populated communities. In rural communities since election officials are usually acquainted with every voter, registration is not so necessary and in many states is not required, but it is a safeguard which will probably become universal. Fraudulent voting is a serious danger to our free institutions and every precaution possible should be taken to prevent it. Respectable citizens who fail to do their duty on election day are a menace to democracy although not so great a menace as those who obtain office through dishonest means. Such people are not living up to the obligations of American citizenship. By their neglect they are destroying the effectiveness of our present representative government.

Qualifications of Voters. The qualifications of voters are determined by state law subject to two clauses of the United States Constitution. One of these, the Fifteenth Amendment, says that no person shall be denied the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The other, the Nineteenth Amendment, provides that women shall have the same rights as men in voting. All states require the voters to be twenty-one years of age, and to have resided within the state for a certain period. The period of residence varies from three months to two years. A number of states have an educational qualification and some of them re-

quire the voters to have paid a tax. In some cases this is a poll tax, in others it is a general property tax. However, the property and tax-paying qualifications have, for the most part, been abandoned. Up to a few years ago, some of the states allowed aliens to vote, if they had filed their first papers and had met resident requirements, but now all states require a voter to be a citizen of the United States.

The Party Platform. Party organizations come into existence because a group of citizens want the government to do specific things or adopt certain principles or policies. The party must have some means of announcing these principles and policies if it is to attract to its membership enough people to obtain a majority of the votes cast and secure control of the government. This is done by means of the party platform. A statement in a platform is frequently called a plank.

The party platform is adopted by a vote of the convention. Those who write it try to include many popular planks. Platforms, therefore, tend to become lengthy and thus frequently recommend policies that are not practicable. Officials have not always done what the platform upon which they were elected promised. The result is that party platforms may not be taken seriously by the voters.

It has become customary for the Presidential candidate to make a speech or write a letter of acceptance upon being officially notified of his nomination. This statement made by the candidate usu-

ally gives his views upon leading issues of the campaign. The speeches and letters of the candidate constitute a personal pledge to carry out certain principles and to do certain things provided he is elected. Although not official statements of a party organization they have come to be considered a better indication of party performance than the platform.

Political Parties a Necessary Part of Our Government. The government has work to do. But there are differences of opinion among the citizens as to what should be done and as to how the government should do its work. In order that anything may be done there must be agreement in favor of certain action among a large number of citizens, enough of the votes to convince those in power that it should be done or to replace them with other officials who will do what is desired. In a large community like the United States agreement cannot be reached except by organization of those who favor a policy. Such organizations being political parties, they take permanent form instead of reorganizing to meet new issues. It would be very difficult to accomplish any constructive work without political parties.

You remember that the Constitution divides our government into three distinct branches. Each of these is given powers which make it a check upon other branches. Thus the President is a check upon Congress and Congress is a check upon the President. Neither Congress nor the President can do

much without the help of the other. There is nothing in the Constitution to compel them to work together, but the political party which elects both the Congress and the President is stronger than either and can influence them to work together. Thus the political party, although not mentioned in the Constitution, is one of the most necessary and important parts of our government.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Be sure you understand why political parties play an important part in our government.

2. Note that the success of our government depends upon the honest and fair use of the ballot.

3. Observe that the purpose of the direct primary is to give the people a more direct voice in choosing candidates for office.

Test Exercises

Answer these questions with *Yes* or *No*.

1. Is a caucus a political party?
2. Are political parties recognized by law?
3. Are political conventions always free from the influence of corrupt politicians?
4. Does the "spoils system" improve the government?
5. Did the convention system precede the direct primary?
6. Does the Australian Ballot mean that voting is done in secret?
7. Is registration always required before voting?
8. Does the Constitution of the United States have two clauses concerning the qualifications of voters?
9. Is a party platform a statement of the policies of the party?
10. Are political parties an important part of our government?

Suggested Activities

1. Voting is as much a duty as a right. Do you believe that citizens should be compelled to vote? Give your reasons.

2. Which has the greater influence in national elections, the radio or the newspaper? Prepare to defend your answer.

3. Learn the names and the policies of all the political parties which nominated candidates for President in 1928.

4. Nominate and elect a president, a vice-president, and a secretary of your class.

(a) Make a registration of voters.

(b) Conduct a nominating primary.

(c) Hold the election.

CHAPTER IX

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

appeal, 114.
Pure Food and Drug Act, 119.
stockholders, 122.
budget, 122.
single house, 120.
ordinances, 119.

Study the meaning of all expressions you do not understand. You will find those above in the Explanation of Terms.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Find out where local units of government get their authority.
2. Observe the necessity for local governmental agencies.

Three General Kinds of Government. As we have already seen, our government operates through a number of organized units. These units may be grouped into three general kinds of government. First is the national government, whose capital is at Washington, D. C.; the second kind is state government, and there are as many state governments as there are states, each operating from the state capital; the third general kind is known as local government. There are a number of types of local government, including many organized units. Thus the county, township, city, village, and school district, and other organized units of government, operating over special districts, are included under this general head known as local government. It is our purpose in this chapter to discuss the more important units of local government.

Counties. One of the most important units of local government is the county. Every state in the United States, except Louisiana, has counties, and Louisiana has similar divisions but they are called parishes. The number of counties in a state ranges from three in Delaware to two hundred and fifty-three in Texas. In population, counties range all the way from forty-five in one large county in Texas to more than three million inhabitants in Cook County, Illinois.

County governments are provided in each state by the state legislature or the state constitution. County officers are created in some states by the legislature and in others are provided for in the constitution. In some states there is a large number of county officers who perform most of the official acts that affect the ordinary citizen; in other states the county is not so important and there are fewer county officers. In the latter case, a greater part of the official acts of local government are performed by township, city, or village officials.

County Officers. 1. *County Board.* The general business of the county is carried on by a county board; sometimes this board is called a commission and sometimes it is given other names, but in most states it consists of from three to seven members elected by the people. The county board has general control of the county finance, property, public works, charities, and other business. This board usually has power to appoint some administrative officers.

2. *The Sheriff.* The most important county officer is usually the sheriff. He is primarily a police officer. He makes arrests for criminal or disorderly behavior. He keeps the county jail, and is responsible for the execution of the law.

3. *The County Attorney.* Each county has an official who is the legal adviser of the other county officers and who is the agent of the state in prosecuting criminals. This officer may be known as the county attorney, prosecuting attorney, state's attorney, or district attorney. He is elected by the people in most states, but in a few states he is appointed by the governor. It is his duty to investigate crimes reported to him, to institute proceedings in court, and to conduct the prosecution. The county attorney is one of the most important county officials, and the respect for law and order in any community depends largely upon the ability and efficiency of this officer.

4. *Other County Officers.* If we were to name all the county officers in the various states we would have a long list, but the county officers usually elected, in addition to the ones named above, are the county clerk, treasurer, auditor, clerk of the court, and coroner. In some states there are recorders of deeds, assessors, collectors, and probate judges. The names of these officials indicate in general their duties. These duties differ widely in the various counties. Where there is a large city in a county the duties of the county officers will be different from those in a county containing only rural population.

Enforcement of the Law. The enforcement of the law in the ordinary local community is the business of the local courts. These courts, in general, are of two kinds—the Justice of the Peace Court and the County Court.

1. *Justice of the Peace Court.* The simplest court is that of the justice of the peace. The justices of the peace are elected by the voters of the townships or wards, in some states, and in others they are appointed by the governor. They have the power to try minor civil cases and, in some states, petty criminal offenses. In the case of more serious crimes they have the power to hear the evidence and to send the offender to jail to await the action of a grand jury. The court of a justice of the peace is not a court of record. Appeal may be had from the justice's court to the county court.

2. *County Court.* The great trial court of the county is usually called the county court; in some cases it is called the district court, or superior court, or court of common pleas. It is presided over by a judge, or judges, elected by the people, usually for a term of four years. All county courts are courts of record; that is, they keep a permanent official record of proceedings. A court reporter is employed to take down the proceedings heard in court.

The cases that come before the county court are divided into two classes known as civil cases and criminal cases. Civil cases are those that arise because of a disagreement about property or property

rights. If the amount of property involved in the dispute is very great the case may be appealed from the county court to a higher state court. Criminal cases are those cases in which someone is accused of

The Jackson County Courthouse at Holton, Kansas. This building was erected at a cost of $292,000, and is splendidly arranged to take care of the business of the county government.

a crime. If the prosecution is able to prove that the party committed the crime, he is convicted and sentenced to pay a fine or to be imprisoned, or both, according to the nature of the offense committed against the law. In serious cases, the defendant, if convicted, may appeal to higher state courts under certain conditions.

Villages, Towns, and Cities. When a number of people live close together many problems arise that

never disturb people who live in the open country. The greater the number of people within a limited area the greater and more important is the number of such problems. These problems necessarily must be solved by the people living within the limited area. For the solution of such problems the states provide for local government in villages, towns, and cities. Thus the village or city can elect such officials and exercise such powers as the state law permits. These powers usually include the right to elect officials, to levy taxes, to own property, and to enact laws or ordinances concerning the local matters affecting the population of the village or city.

1. *Villages or Towns.* The term village or town is usually applied to communities of limited population. These limitations vary greatly in the different states. In some states a community having a population of five hundred or less would be called a village or a town, while in other states communities with a population of five thousand or less would be designated a village. The village or town has many problems that do not affect people in the open country, but not so many or so difficult problems as those that confront the large city. The governing officials of villages or towns are usually the mayor and his council. Sometimes police officers, night watchmen, and other officials are provided for. The building of sidewalks, the paving of streets, the provisions for electric lights, and waterworks are likely to be among

the problems which villages and towns are called upon to solve.

2. *Cities.* All authority of city government is conferred by the state; in fact, the city as a political

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San Francisco Civic Parade. Over a million people witnessed the parade, a part of which you see in the picture above. The San Francisco City Hall is shown in the center of the picture.

unit of government is created by the state. State laws providing for cities may be considered in two general classes—those laws which provide for general charters, and those which permit cities to adopt special charters. In the first class a general state law is passed applying to cities of certain populations, and all cities of the population provided for in the law must organize their government in accord-

ance with the provision of the general state law. In order that these general laws may fit more nearly the needs of cities, they are usually made applicable to cities of certain classes. For example, a state may pass one general law for the government of all cities having a population of ten thousand and less than fifty thousand, and other laws for those cities having populations of fifty thousand and less than one hundred thousand, and a third general law for all cities having populations of more than one hundred thousand.

In some states the larger cities are permitted to adopt special charters under certain limitations imposed by the state government. This type of city government is sometimes called home-rule. It is based upon the theory that those who must live in a city are most interested and should, therefore, have the privilege of drafting their city charter, subject to the state laws. This plan relieves the legislatures of the necessity of making laws upon many subjects which are of importance only to inhabitants of the cities. It should stimulate interest in the city government on the part of the citizens.

Problems Common to All Large Cities. There are many problems in all large cities which must be regulated in the interest of the whole population; in many of these the state or the people outside of the city have little or no concern; others are of importance not only to the inhabitants of the city, but also to the state at large. The width, grade, and composi-

tion of sidewalks; the location and size of billboard advertisements; the height and kind of buildings allowed on certain streets; where, when, and how long motor vehicles may park are examples of the first type. There are great numbers of these purely city problems, but the above examples will be sufficient. Other problems that are of importance not only to the people of the city but to other citizens as well, may be defined and regulated by state law as well as city laws. For example, owners of automobiles may be compelled to buy both a city and a state license; bus lines may be controlled by state authority, and yet compelled to operate under a city franchise within that city's limits. State laws prevent posting of objectionable matter on billboards. The commission of crime in a city is a violation of state law. Thus the city officials not only enforce city ordinances, but co-operate with the state in enforcement of state laws. Thus the city service is closely related to the state, and, in some cases, to national laws. To illustrate, a public market may be owned by the city and controlled under city ordinances; the food offered for sale may be defined as to quality and purity by state law and may be subject to state inspection, while the national Pure Food and Drug Act would prevent fraud and deception in relation to any food supplies shipped to the market from other states.

City Officials. 1. *The Mayor.* The chief official of most cities is the mayor. He is the executive head of the city government. In small towns or cities he

may act in a business capacity, in purchases, sales, employments, and appointments; in great cities he does not actually participate in such details, but he shapes policies, and renders decisions that guide the work of his subordinates. Mayors are elected by popular vote. The term is from one to four years, but usually two years. The salary varies from a small sum to fifteen thousand dollars or more in our larger cities. It is the mayor's duty to enforce the laws and ordinances, maintain order, represent the city in its relations with other cities, make recommendations to the council, and perform various other services.

2. *The City Council.* The city council exercises important powers in city government. City councils are of various sizes, ranging from four to nearly one hundred members. City councilors are elected by the people and their terms vary from one to four years. In most cities the city council consists of a single house. It is the duty of the city council to pass local legislation. The following indicates the type of measures with which city councils deal: measures providing for the operation of city government; providing for parks; for the lighting of streets and alleys; regulating quarantine; standardizing milk supplies; making rules for the suppression of gambling; inspecting picture shows; and protecting the people of the city in general.

3. *Administrative Departments, Boards, and Commissions.* As cities increase in population, the

amount of work to be done by the city government increases rapidly. Councils usually create city departments and delegate certain work to each department. In some cases special boards or commissions are created and put in charge of the actual execution of certain services undertaken by the city government. These departments, boards, and commissions may be given the power to make rules and regulations concerning the work they are given to do. The Police Department and Fire Department are examples of such administrative departments. In large cities there may be as many as twenty-five or thirty such departments.

Commission Form of City Government. Some cities, in an attempt to eliminate part of the waste and inefficiency that sometimes characterizes the mayor-council type of city government, have created what is known as the commission form of city government. In this plan a small commission, usually five members, is elected by the voters of the city. These commissioners are given all the powers that were previously exercised by mayor and council including the power to levy taxes and make appropriations. The commission appoints all subordinate officers or provides for their appointment. Each of the five commissioners serves as head of one of the five departments into which the city government is divided under the commission plan.

The City Manager Plan. In some cases the commission plan did not work well because the five

members of the commission did not always agree, and there could be as many policies as there were members of the commission. In order to avoid this difficulty some cities have adopted what is known as the city manager plan. In such cities a commission, such as is chosen in the regular commission government plan, is elected, and retains the authority for enacting ordinances, levying taxes, and making appropriations, but all the details of administration are entrusted to a single official known as the city manager. This officer is expected to keep the commission fully informed as to the needs and resources of the city; to make budgets; spend the money for the purposes for which it is appropriated; and make a detailed account to the commission. The city manager plan is very much the same as the plan used in carrying on a big business. The manager is in a position similar to that of the president of a company, who is chosen by the board of directors who, in this case, would be the members of the commission. The board of directors themselves are chosen by the stockholders of the company just as the members of the commission are elected by the voters of the city. City commissions are usually free to employ anyone they care to for city manager, even though they go to another city or state in order to find a capable man with experience and training suited to their needs.

The School District. Another important type of local governmental unit is the school district. The

school district is created by state law. It may or may not be co-ordinate with the city or county, but it has a specific purpose, which is the education of the children within the district. School districts range in size and population from the small rural district to the large city districts such as Chicago or New York City. School districts are governed by a board of directors usually elected by the people of the district, but in the case of some cities they may be appointed by the mayor. The board of directors is charged with the duty of maintaining public schools for the education of the children of the district. They have power to levy taxes within certain limits prescribed by the state constitution or the state laws or voted by the people of the district; to select teachers, and to provide for the general management of the district. Education in America is usually considered a state function, and is delegated by the state to the local communities organized as school districts. The states, however, aid the local communities by distributing certain funds, different in different states, to the district for the purpose of aiding in maintaining the schools. Thus the local school district co-operates with the state in public education.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Notice that local units of government are provided for by state legislatures.
2. Notice that problems with which local units of government must

deal increase in number and complexity with the increase of population.

3. Observe that a school district has one function to perform—that of education.

4. Note that there are three types of city government.

Test Exercises

On a separate sheet of paper write the answers to the following questions. Where possible, answer with one word.

1. What are the three general kinds of government in this country?
2. The county gets its authority from what other governmental unit?
3. Is the county equally important in all states?
4. Who is usually considered the most important county officer?
5. Name the two courts that enforce law in local communities.
6. Do cities ever deal with problems that concern people outside the city limits?
7. Who is the chief official of the mayor-council type of government?
8. Who is the chief official in the city manager plan?
9. Is education usually considered a local or a state function?
10. Name the three types of city government.

Suggested Activities

1. Find out the names of your county officers, including the county attorney, the sheriff, and the members of the county board.
2. How do your county officers get their offices?
3. If you live in a city, name three problems which concern the people of the city only, and three problems which concern people outside and inside the city.
4. Who is the mayor or city manager of your city?
5. How many members are in the city council or commission?
6. Choose sides and debate this question: Resolved, That the city manager plan of government is better than the mayor-council plan.

School districts

CHAPTER X

STATE GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

political rights, 126.
workmen's compensation law, 130.
specialized department, 129.
clinic, 128.

These expressions are defined in the Explanation of Terms. Make yourself familiar with their meaning before you study the chapter.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Find out how state governments serve the people.
2. Learn why the work of the state government has increased.

The States Older than the Nation. Thirteen states, the outgrowth of early trading companies and colonies, existed before our Constitution, and the national government was organized by delegates representing them. When the national government was provided for by the Constitution a part of the power of government was delegated to the national government, all other powers remaining with the state. Some persons have the idea that the government of the United States is a higher authority than the government of a state. This is not necessarily true. Each government is supreme in its own field. Nor are the state governments small models of the national government as many people think. That is evident from the fact that state governments existed first, and today state government is supreme in all governmental problems not delegated to the national government.

Importance of State Government. A great part of the work of government that affects us as individuals is done by the state in which we live. The state licenses the doctor who visits us when we are sick; it gives the teacher a certificate to teach the school we are attending; it licenses the lawyers who represent us in court; it passes the laws which provide for our schools; and it regulates the law of county and city governments. The state laws regulate the relations in the home; provide for the inspection of hotels, barber shops, and restaurants. The state cares for the insane, confines the criminals, and protects our property. Sometimes it operates through local units of government which it creates.

State Governments Much Alike. Although there are many differences in the laws and customs of the individual states, they have many characteristics in common. All states have equal political rights as units of the national government. Each state has a written constitution. The chief executive of each state is a governor. The legislative authority is vested in a legislature composed of two houses, chosen by popular vote. A system of state courts exists in each state. Each state has created local governmental subdivisions, such as counties or parishes, townships, towns, cities, villages, and school districts. Each state has three departments of government with the same general system of separation of powers that is used in the national government.

State Governments Provided for by State Constitutions. The people in each of our states have written a state constitution which provides for the organization of the state government. These constitutions are usually longer than the national constitution, and go into much more detail. In providing for the governmental organization of the state, all state constitutions make provisions for an executive, legislative, and judicial department. They also provide for a bill of rights which in some states is very extensive. These bills of rights usually guarantee free speech, trial by jury, freedom of the press, freedom to worship according to the dictates of one's own conscience, and other rights which the American people have come to consider constitutional.

State Governments Growing in Importance. In the last few years state governments have been rapidly growing in importance. They have assumed responsibility for the administration of many problems which affect the welfare of the people. Many activities formerly provided for through local units of government, such as the county or township, have been taken over by the state, and are now considered a part of the state's work. For example, it has been only a few years since road construction and maintenance was the work of the local government—in the past a small road district was usually supervised by the county government—but now all important roads are built by the state. Every state now has a highway commission which is spending large sums

of money building and maintaining first-class roads which the people are using more and more every day. Activities have not only outgrown the administration of the smaller units of government but changing conditions have brought into existence many new problems. Much of this new type of work is of such a nature that it must be done by the state. An example of this is the work of protecting the public health of the people. Many states now have health departments that maintain laboratories and do much work in sanitation, inspection, and health regulation. These departments in some cases direct and aid the counties in health work by furnishing county nurses, supervising county boards of health, and holding clinics.

In addition to the work that is being transferred from the smaller unit to the state, there are numerous other kinds of work that have been done by the state for many years and which are now of much more importance than ever before. For example, some states have supported higher education for many years by providing a state university and state normal schools or teachers colleges. In recent years the work of the state done through these higher educational institutions has increased enormously. Thus the state is the agency through which the people are doing more and more the things that are necessary for the comfort and well-being of all of us. It is true that some work is passing from the state to the national government, but in spite of this

fact much more work is being done by the state now than was formerly done by it.

Larger Expenditures by State Governments. The ever increasing amount of work which the state is required to do calls for the services of a larger staff and makes necessary a more complicated organization. Experts are in charge of the specialized departments and there are many assistant workers. Large sums of money must be spent yearly for salaries and material with which to work. Expenses increase proportionately with the amount of work taken over for state administration. However, we do not transfer any work to the state until the people are convinced that the state can do it better than can a smaller group.

Agencies Through Which the State Works. The state does its work through departments, commissions, boards, and bureaus. In earlier days, when the work of the state was much lighter than now, most of it was done through a few state departments such as the Department of State Audits and Accounts, Treasury Department, and Department of Education, but as the work of the state has increased, new agencies have been created to do particular kinds of work. For example, when it became apparent that the state could supervise public utilities, such as electric light plants and waterworks, better than the local communities could, most states created a commission to do that work. This agency is usually known as a Public Utility Commission.

In like manner some states have created Boards of Agriculture, boards for controlling the state universities, commissions for administering workman's compensation laws, and commissions for numerous other services, each specific task being the cause of the creation of a board, bureau, or commission. The result has been the multiplication of such agencies until in some states there are as many as two hundred.

Reorganization and Consolidation of the Agencies of State Government. Since these new agencies were created each with its specific work to do, there came to be much duplication in their efforts. Three or four men might be sent to a certain city, each to do a small piece of work which one might have done for all. Thus traveling expenses were multiplied and three or four men did the work that one could have done. The increased amount of work done by the state has led to higher costs of government, and these costs have been even more increased by duplication of effort. Some states have appointed commissions to study the problem of reorganization and consolidation of these agencies of state government. Following the recommendations of such commissions the states have passed laws greatly reducing the number of separate units, placing a larger amount of work under each agency and securing coordination to prevent duplication and waste. Illinois, Massachusetts, and Minnesota have been leaders in this movement.

Elective and Appointive State Officials. Some state officers are elected but many are appointed. In many states, those departments that have been in existence for a number of years have elective heads, but most of the agencies of government that have been created in recent years have heads appointed by the governors. Thus there are always two classes of state officials—those appointed by the governor and those elected directly by the people, each having the power to make the appointment of their own subordinates.

Summary. State governments have many resemblances to the national government, but there are also many important differences between the two. States also have many characteristics in common, such as written constitutions, legislative, executive, and judicial departments.

The growth in state government has been largely in the executive branch, and has been in the administrative work rather than in the executive work of that department.

Recent expenses in state governing machinery show much waste and much lack of co-ordination. These conditions have resulted in many official investigations. As a result there has been reorganization and consolidation in some states, but in nearly all the states there is still a need for more efficient and better state government.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Remember that the state is supreme in all powers not delegated to the national government and not prohibited to the states by the Constitution of the United States.

2. Note that the state protects the rights of the individual and at the same time provides for and directs many services that affect him.

3. Observe how the increased demand for state services has made it necessary for the state to create departments, boards, and commissions.

Test Exercises

On a separate piece of paper write the missing word in each of the following statements.

1. States are older than the _____.
2. The state government is supreme in all functions not delegated to the _____.
3. State governments are similar to the national government in that they have _____ departments.
4. The _____ government is the one that does most of the work that directly affects individuals.
5. Many services once performed by _____ governments have been taken over by the state.
6. The increased amount of work done by the state and the overlapping of authority between state bureaus have caused an _____ in expenditures.
7. Some states have attempted the reorganization and _____ of bureaus and commissions.

Suggested Activities

1. Find out the name of the governor of your state, his term of office, his salary, the date of his election, and the political party to which he belongs.
2. List ten or more services performed for you by the state.
3. Find out the name, term of office, date of election, and party affiliation of your representative and senator in the state legislature.
4. Find out if your state has attempted to reorganize and consolidate its bureaus, boards, and commissions.

CHAPTER XI

LAW MAKING

Do You Know These Terms?

national government, 133.
contiguous territory, 134.
slander, 136.
libel, 136.
felony, 136.
breach of the peace, 136.
sovereign people, 136.
pro tempore, 137.
quorum, 137.
deliberative body, 137.
filibustering, 138.
"playing politics," 147.

Foolish laws are sometimes made because the meanings of words are not understood. Explain the expressions in this list.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Be sure you understand how Congress makes a law and how a state legislature makes a law.
2. Observe the influence of the executive and judicial departments on law-making.
3. Notice what is said about problems of law-making and possible remedies for these problems.

Three Branches of Our Government. Laws must be made, interpreted, and enforced. The Constitution provides, therefore, for a law-making (legislative), a law-interpreting (judicial), and a law-enforcing (executive), branch of the national government. These departments are more distinctly separated in the United States than in any other great country. Each in its own sphere is designed to be a check upon the other two. Yet we shall see in this and the next two chapters that the Constitution sets up an organization which is a unit; each branch, in addition to the work which is peculiarly

its own, also performs duties which make the other two effective.

Congress Is the Law Making Body. 1. *Constitutional and Legal Requirements.* "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." The Constitution prescribes the age and other qualifications of Senators and Representatives, and their term of office. It authorizes Congress to make rules for their election, though this privilege is left to state legislatures unless Congress acts. The only important regulation governing such election, now in force as passed by Congress, is that Representatives must be chosen the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November in even-numbered years. Another law which is much harder to execute requires that districts from which Representatives are chosen shall be of approximately equal population and of contiguous territory. In spite of this requirement many districts are "gerrymandered" into very peculiar shapes in order to give the majority party political advantage. In case of doubt as to election or qualification each house determines for itself who is entitled to membership. Congress may also impose penalties for fraud in electing Congressmen.

The term of office of Representatives is two years. That of Senators is six years. Approximately one-third of the Senators are elected each two years, thus making the Senate a continuous body, always

having in its membership a large proportion of experienced men.

Those who made the Constitution found difficulty in agreeing as to the basis of representation in Congress. After much argument, each state was allowed two Senators, and each was given Representatives in proportion to population. This arrangement satisfied the smaller states as well as those having the greatest population.

2. *Political Parties Make Both Houses Represent the People.* Political parties, you remember, had not been thought of when the Constitution was adopted and it was supposed that the lower house would represent the people and the upper house the states. Some were even afraid of too much democracy, fearing that if the House did actually represent the people, it would be radical and unsafe. One of the greatest political leaders of the time, Alexander Hamilton, spoke of "the people" as a "great beast" without wisdom enough to guide itself. Because of the development of political parties through which voters express themselves the great difference anticipated between the two houses has not appeared. Both Senators and Representatives are elected by the people whom they represent. Both are directly responsible to those who entrust them with office.

3. *Salary and Privileges of Congressmen.* The Constitution fixed no limit to the compensation of Congressmen, but public opinion has made itself felt in preventing payment of very large salaries. When

the annual amount was raised from $5,000 to $7,500, soon after the close of the Civil War, there was so much protest that the old figure was resumed. The salary is now $10,000 annually, with additions for clerk hire, postage, and traveling expenses.

Members of Congress are also guaranteed certain rights necessary to insure protection in their work. They cannot be called in question in any other place for utterances made in Congress. Neither can they be prosecuted for slander or libel on the basis of what has been said in Congress; except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, they cannot be arrested or imprisoned while Congress is in session. In the chapter on representative government it was shown that Representatives once had to be protected against the King; some of the safeguards mentioned in this paragraph are needed to protect our Representatives against the sovereign people. Under the complex conditions of modern business the speech of a Senator might affect the market, causing many to gain or lose money. If Congressional speakers could be held responsible it would hardly be safe to make a speech or to introduce a motion.

4. *Sessions of Congress.* Congress meets in regular session once each year. Because representatives are elected bienially, Congresses are numbered consecutively each two years, beginning with the first, which met in 1789. Thus each Congress holds two sessions. Before the adoption of the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution the sessions began

the first Monday in December. The Twentieth Amendment changed the date of meeting to the third day of January.

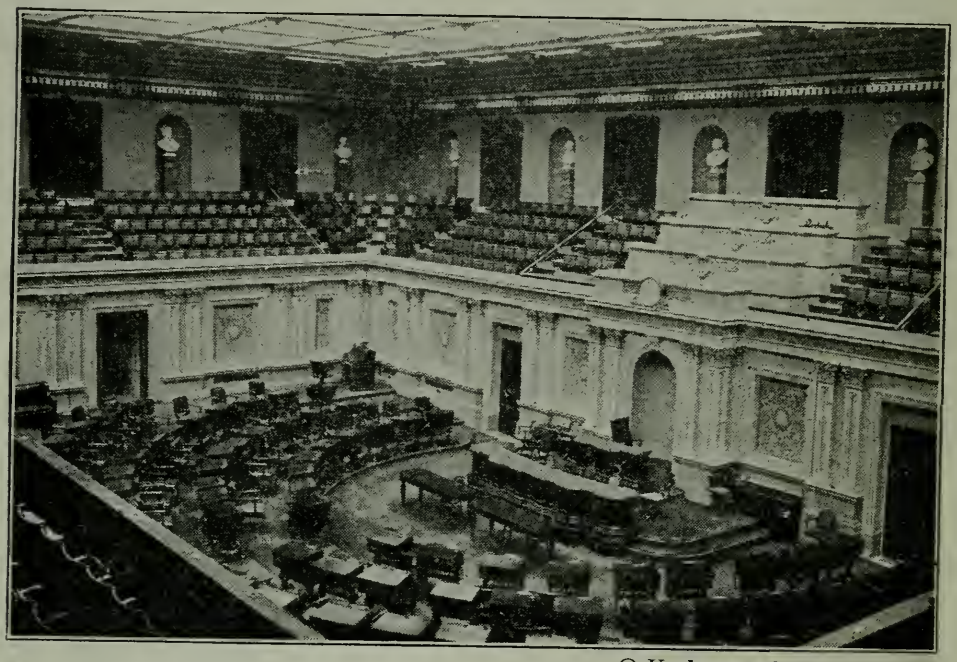
In addition to regular terms, the President may call Congress in special session. He may also call either house alone. The Senate has thus been called many times to ratify treaties; the House of Representatives has never been called alone.

How Congress Works. The Constitution makes few requirements governing Congress. It rather leaves Congress largely free to proceed in its own way. In each house a majority is required for a quorum; each house must keep and publish a journal of its proceedings; a yea and nay vote must be taken upon demand of one-fifth of the members present; neither house can adjourn to another place than that in which Congress is sitting, nor for more than three days without consent of the other house. With these few Constitutional provisions, both the Senate and the House have developed long and complicated codes of rules as the result of many years of experience.

How the Senate Works. 1. *Officers.* The Vice-President is President of the Senate but cannot vote except in case of tie. A president *pro tempore* and other officers are elected according to a strict party vote.

2. *Rules.* The Senate, unlike the House, has remained a deliberative body, that is questions are debated thoroughly and seriously, occasionally with

attention of all members at a time. This is possible because the Senate is a small group and its members are elected for long enough terms to permit them to become familiar with the rules and customs followed.



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The United States Senate Chamber. In the right wing of the Capitol is the room in which the United States Senate convenes. Directly under the clock is the desk of the Vice-President, who is the presiding officer of the Senate.

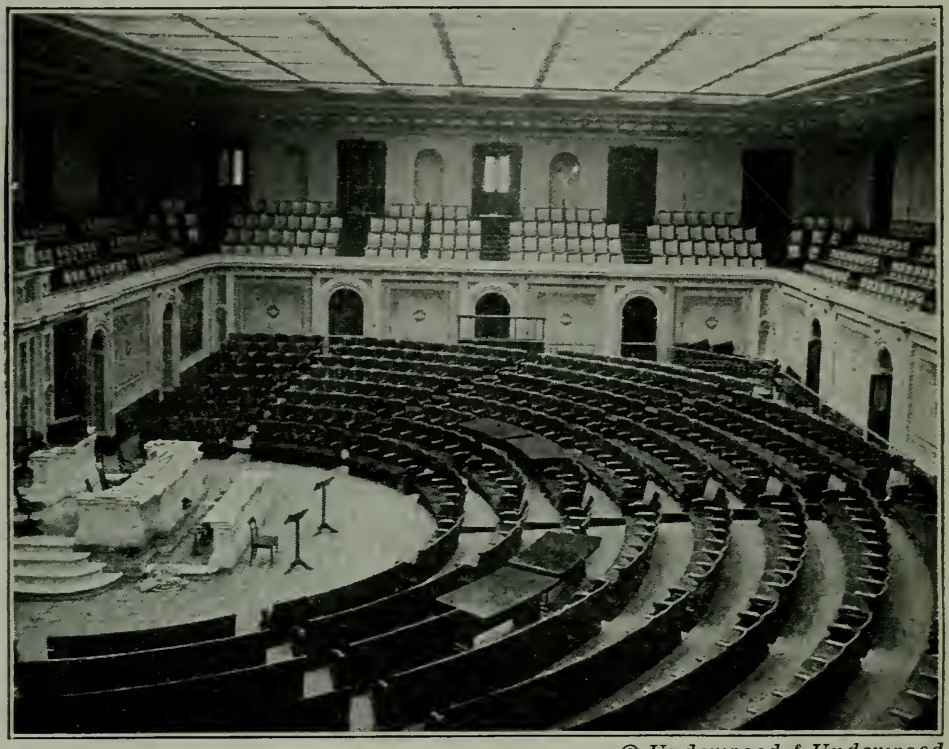
The greatest freedom of debate prevails; each member may usually speak as long as he wishes, provided he is recognized by the presiding officer. This freedom has often caused great waste of time, especially near the close of sessions, when Senators opposed to a certain bill may prevent its passage by talking against time or filibustering until it is too late for the measure to be voted upon.

3. *Committees.* The Senate could never do its work without committees. No Senator can even read all the bills and resolutions introduced during any session. It is made the special business of each committee to become familiar with bills referred to it, and with conditions which might be affected by change in laws. There are thirty-four Senate committees—finance, judiciary, foreign relations, and others bearing descriptive names indicating their duties. All Senate committees are elected by the Senate; the party which has a majority in the Senate controls each committee and the chairman is always the member of the majority party who has served longest on the committee. This practice does not always secure the ablest member to act as chairman, but like other customs, it has worked fairly well and would be very hard to change.

How the House Works. 1. *Officers.* The House elects its presiding officer, the Speaker, who is in a position of great influence. Before 1911 he appointed all committees but these are now elected by the House. The floor leader of the majority is always chairman of the most important committee, Ways and Means. Thus the chain of political responsibility described in the chapters on representative government and political parties appears in the House.

2. *Rules.* Because the House is so large, it has more than four hundred members, unlimited debate of all measures is clearly impossible. Under rules usually re-adopted at the opening of each session,

no member may speak upon any measure more than an hour. Very frequently the five minute rule is adopted; sometimes opposing leaders agree as to the



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The Hall of Representatives. In the left wing of the Capitol is the Hall of Representatives. The gallery is open to visitors and is frequently crowded during the discussions of important legislation.

amount of time each side may have and divide the period among their respective supporters.

Formerly members who wished to defeat measures through delay refused to answer roll call and were counted absent though in their seats. Speaker Reed ruled that one whose body was present was actually so, and thus counted a quorum one day when more

than one hundred "present" members were expecting to be considered absent. For thus ruling, the Speaker was called a Czar and a tyrant but as the new plan saved a great deal of time both political parties have been using it since. The Speaker also has the power to refuse recognition of a motion if its purpose is evidently to delay, though of course he cannot prevent a yea and nay vote if one-fifth of those present demand it.

3. *Committees.* Even with the most economical use of time the huge volume of business and great size of the House make it even more dependent upon committees than is the Senate. "The business of the House is what the committees choose to make it." They may "pigeon-hole" bills, and it is exceedingly difficult to revive a measure which has been "killed in committee." There are more than sixty standing committees, varying in size from two to thirty or more members. Since all revenue bills must originate in the House, finance occupies an important place in the work of the committees. Partisan responsibility and control are in evidence—since all committees are elected by the House, the controlling party always includes the chairman of the committee and at least half of the membership.

How Bills Become Laws. A proposed law introduced into Congress is called a bill; when it has been passed and signed by the President, it is a law. If you should visit Congress you would be surprised at the confusion and lack of attention to any one

item of business, especially in the House with its large membership. You would probably not be able to discover what either house was doing. Yet the procedure followed is systematic and all according to rule, for representative government cannot be carried on in any other way. We shall consider in outline the law passing plan followed in the House; the Senate proceeds in much the same way.

1. *Introducing Bills.* Any member may introduce a bill by depositing it with the clerk. If he wishes legislation upon a given subject but does not have time or ability to formulate a measure, he may petition for one. The petition is referred to a committee which may or may not make a bill.

2. *Referring to a Committee.* After a bill is introduced, it is next referred to the appropriate committee, numbered, and printed. From this stage public opinion may make itself felt since all may read the proposed law, discuss it, and write letters or newspaper articles for or against it.

3. *The Committee and the Bill.* The committee may report, recommending passage of the bill, passage with amendment, report without recommendation, suggest indefinite postponement, or make no report at all. These last two positions usually end the bill's chance of becoming a law. In deciding upon its action with regard to a bill, the committee has wide power; it may hold public hearings and even compel attendance of witnesses.

4. *Passing the Bill.* The reported bill is placed

upon the calendar for consideration when its turn comes; it is given readings in accordance with House rules. The third reading is usually by title only, but any member has a right to demand full reading. After discussion and possible amendment, the bill is put to vote by the Speaker without any motion from the floor. If a majority votes against the bill it is lost; if a majority is favorable, the bill is said to have passed the House.

5. *The Bill in the Senate.* The bill approved by the House is sent to the Senate. If the Senate vote is favorable, the measure goes to the President. If the Senate refuses to approve a bill which has passed the House, it cannot become a law. Very often amendments are proposed which have to be adopted by the House in which the bill originates. To save time in such cases, managers to represent each house are appointed; they hold conferences and frequently reach agreements satisfactory to both houses. Sometimes neither house is willing to make concession and the bill is lost.

6. *The President and the Bill.* After passing both houses a bill is sent to the President. If he signs it, it becomes a law. If he fails to sign or return the bill within ten days (Sundays excepted), it becomes a law without his signature unless Congress prevents its return by adjourning. If he vetoes the bill, he returns it with his objections to the House in which it originated. Then, if two-thirds of both houses vote for it, the bill becomes a law in spite of

the veto. Usually, vetoed bills do not pass; the President's reasons for opposing a majority of Congress are nearly always sufficient to influence over one-third of at least one house. The bill requiring a literacy test of foreign immigrants is a well-known exception. Every President to whom it came, vetoed it, but finally a two-thirds vote of both houses made it a law.

Political Parties Control Law Making. The foregoing represents the organization and mechanics of national legislation. Expression of the people's will through political parties was not foreseen by those who framed the Constitution, but such parties are at the foundation of all actions of Congress. Senators and Representatives must inquire, "How will this affect the party?" in addition to, "How will this affect the welfare of the United States?"

Official control of each house is always with the majority party with the exception of the influence of a Vice-President as President of the Senate. Very often a secret party caucus is held for the purpose of agreeing beforehand as to how members of the party will vote upon important measures. Thus, while ordinary sessions of Congress are open to the public, the more important meeting of the caucus which determines the fate of bills before they are voted upon in Congress, may be secret. Committees are also safely in the hands of the political party in control; their sessions are sometimes secret and party considerations exercise

great influence in their actions. The interests of a political party and of the country at large are not usually in conflict but it is important for all citizens to recognize that Congress may represent their political party, and that it will do its best service for both party and nation if all Americans are actively interested in the politics of our government.

Powers of Congress. After the Constitution had been adopted, many people were afraid that Congress might try to exercise too many powers. To prevent this the Tenth Amendment was adopted, which reads, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This means that the field in which Congress may act is limited; its powers are expressly listed in Articles One and Five of the Constitution (see pages 334-341; 346) and in several of the amendments.

These powers are legislative but of course many of them actually imply exercise of executive authority. The Senate confirms appointments made by the President; it ratifies treaties which often require executive action. The power of Congress to appropriate money also carries with it great influence in executing laws, for in many cases laws are of no force until an appropriation has been made. The only important judicial activity of Congress is in making and trying impeachments.

Other Branches Share in Law Making. It has just been shown that Congress shares in the work of law-enforcing; it may now be noted that other branches affect law-making.

The President is not a part of the legislative department but most laws are signed by him. He makes treaties, ratified by the Senate, which become part of the law of the land. He recommends the passage of laws and by his executive acts may bring about conditions which almost compel Congress to legislate. Without actually making laws the executive branch of our government may be very influential in bringing them to pass.

The judicial branch often makes or unmakes laws by the power of the courts to interpret laws and to declare them unconstitutional. The Supreme Court has greatly increased the legislative responsibility of Congress by reading a wide meaning into parts of the Constitution. Such subjects as interstate commerce have been increasingly brought under the power of Congress by liberal interpretation of what has been called the elastic clause of the Constitution—"to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." (Article I, Section 8, Clause 18.)

Problems of Congress. Newspaper cartoons often represent Congress as an incapable, bungling old

man, who cannot be depended upon to do his work. Our jokes about Congress and much of our faultfinding are based upon a very shallow understanding of the great tasks which confront every session of Congress. The members of both houses rank very high in ability, honesty, and patriotism; they sincerely desire to serve their country efficiently. Intelligent study of such problems as those which are mentioned here may in time lead to needed changes. Such study will be more effective than unintelligent faultfinding.

1. *Period Between Election and Time of Taking Office.* Representatives are elected in November of even-numbered years. Until the Twentieth Amendment they did not meet in regular session until about thirteen months after election. The Twentieth Amendment provides that the new members take their seats on January third after their election in November. Thus we no longer have defeated Congressmen continuing to enact legislation for a full session of Congress after their defeat.

2. *Playing Politics in Congress.* Playing politics in Congress causes much loss of confidence in our government. The very important place of politics in all activities of Congress has been shown. Public opinion is not slow in condemning any serious delay or sacrifice of the nation's interest because of petty party contests or jealousies. No law or system can ever wholly prevent the loss due to partisan struggles, but more intelligent consideration upon the

part of voters of all the activities of Congress is gradually reducing the waste of politics. Every seat in Congress can be filled by a man who places Nation above party in all matters.

3. *Too Many Measures Introduced.* Too many measures are introduced into Congress. Twenty-five thousand bills and thousands of reports and resolutions in a single session are not unusual. Near the close of each session, especially, these crowd upon each other so thick and fast that good laws may be lost and poor laws passed, which causes later confusion and work for the courts. Modern changes in industry and business bring a heavy load of needed legislation for every session of Congress.

Evidently law-making must be more and more guided by those who know, by experts who have given long-continued and serious study to our problems. More generally than now is the case, laws should be passed upon the recommendation of specialists. Drafting commissions, similar to those now maintained in several states, will provide expert assistance to members in preparing bills. This will prevent much waste due to honestly intended, but poorly worded or improperly drawn bills. There is no doubt that the business of Congress will be handled more efficiently when law-making is guided by fuller knowledge of modern problems.

State Legislative Departments. 1. *Have a Wider Field Than Congress.* State legislatures differ from

Congress in the fact that their field is wider. As has been noted, Congress can make laws only upon subjects delegated to it in the Constitution. Aside from a few important restrictions imposed by the Constitution, states are sovereign, that is, supreme. It is important to observe also that states confer upon counties, cities, towns, and school districts all the power they possess. These units of government exercise whatever power the state finds it necessary or convenient to give them.

2. *Organization Much Like That of Congress.* The organization of all state legislative departments shows considerable uniformity and all state legislatures resemble Congress in operation. There are two houses in each state; the Senate varies in membership from seventeen to sixty-seven; the House ranges between thirty-five and four hundred and eighteen; generally speaking, age qualifications are slightly higher for Senators than for Representatives in more than half of the states; the term of office is longer in the upper than in the lower house. A few legislatures have annual sessions but most of them meet biennially. More than forty meet early in January of odd-numbered years.

In their methods of work state legislatures are much like Congress in that governor and lieutenant-governor take the place occupied in the national government by President and Vice-President. The speaker, committees, caucuses, special sessions are

all familiar terms and political parties are in control. Bills become laws in much the same way as they do in Congress.

3. *Too Much Law Making.* Probably the greatest need of state legislatures is less and better law-making. Each two years produces a huge mass of ill-considered and contradictory legislation. "Make as few laws as possible and then go home," was the excellent advice of a governor to a legislature when it convened. We need more intelligent, expert study of modern problems before passing laws which will not work. Every state needs some kind of drafting commission to put laws into such form that they will not be contradictory nor of doubtful meaning. Most Americans depend too much upon law to make conditions better, when the only real solution lies in greater individual honesty, thrift, and a practice of the square deal. If we are justly accused of being a lawless nation, it is not because we have shown little confidence in legislation to solve our problems; it is because we have passed so many impossible laws that proper respect for law no longer exists.

In order to secure better laws we must see to it that our legislators are better qualified to make laws. Too often we elect men to the legislative bodies who know little or nothing about law-making, and as a result they are influenced by those who have something to gain personally and are not unselfishly interested in the welfare of the state.

State legislatures are usually, however, real rep-

resentative bodies. When occasionally the people distrust their state legislature, it is usually because of inefficiency on the part of the legislators in law-making rather than because of their dishonesty. Sometimes this lack of confidence on the part of the people has led them to make their own laws through the initiative and referendum, explained on pages 205 and 206. It is still too soon to determine the degree of efficiency which will result from these newer methods of law-making.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Remember that the Constitution of the United States vests all legislative powers in Congress.

2. Observe the great influence on national legislation exerted by party caucuses, by the veto and political power of the President, and by the interpretative power of the Supreme Court.

3. Note that one of the problems of law-making is the enactment of too many laws.

4. Note that state legislatures have a much wider field than Congress and that their organization and methods of work are much like those of Congress.

Test Exercises

Answer these questions by *Yes* or *No*.

1. Is Congress the legislative branch of the national government?
2. Can a member of Congress be called to question in any other place for utterances made in Congress?
3. Do both houses of Congress represent the people?
4. Does each session of Congress consist of two terms?
5. Is the Vice-President ever allowed to vote in the Senate?
6. Is the privilege of debate restricted more in the Senate than in the House?
7. Are committees of little importance in Congress?
8. Can any member of Congress introduce a bill?

9. Is a committee compelled to make a report on a bill which is referred to it?

10. Can a bill become a law without the President's signature?

11. Do political parties play an important part in law-making?

12. Does Congress have unlimited power?

13. Do members of Congress take office immediately after they are elected?

14. Do members of Congress ever play politics?

15. Does Congress have wider powers than the state legislatures?

16. Is a drafting commission of aid in law-making?

Suggested Activities

1. Find out the names of the two Senators from your state, the party to which they belong, and the date of their election.

2. Find out the name, the party, and the date of election of your Representative.

3. Find out the title of some important bill which has been made a law recently or which has been considered recently by Congress.

4. Explain why a drafting commission would lessen the number of bills introduced.

5. Dramatize the passage of a bill through the House of Representatives.

   (a) Organize your room into a legislative body and elect a presiding officer. The presiding officer should appoint a clerk and three or more committees. Each pupil in the room should be on one committee. The work of these committees may relate to your own school problems, such as athletics, finance, or assemblies.

   (b) Any member may introduce a bill, the bills introduced relating to the work of the committees appointed. Refer the bills to the proper committees.

   (c) The committees should meet, consider the bills, and either report or pigeon-hole them.

   (d) The whole body should vote on the bills.

6. Find out how Senators were first elected and how they are now chosen. Read Article I, Section III, Clause 1 and find out the required qualifications for the office of Senator.

7. Find out the qualifications required for election to the office of United States Representative.

CHAPTER XII

LAW ENFORCING

Do You Know These Terms?

usurp authority, 154.
"doubtful states," 155.
allegiance, 156.
inauguration, 157.
"solid South," 160.
dictator, 161.
executive, 161.
negotiations, 163.
ratification, 163.
bureau, 165.
administrative, 167.
constitutional officer, 173.
commissions, 174.
ex-officio, 174.

Intelligent reading of this chapter requires an understanding of these words as they are used on the pages indicated. Write a sentence using each.

As You Read This Chapter

Be sure that you understand how the law-enforcing branches of our national and state governments serve the people of the United States.

The President a Powerful Officer. The most powerful officer in the world is the President of the United States. When the Constitution was framed everyone knew the need of a law-enforcing power, but experience with kings had made people afraid of one man power, and the voters themselves probably would have been unwilling to adopt the Constitution if they had realized all the powers it gives the President. Yet the office has grown stronger and stronger; the President is the real head of our government. Unlike the King of England, who is said to reign without ruling, the President rules without reigning, but, with all this power, we are not in the

least afraid that he will usurp authority which the Constitution has not conferred upon him. The Presidency is democratic; the President is responsible to the people politically. "The President comes from the people and must return to the people." He is simply our chief political servant.

How the President Is Chosen. Those who framed our Constitution expected Washington to be the first President, since they regarded him as wisest and most fair-minded. The plan they devised for electing a President provided that the one who received most electoral votes should be President and the one receiving next highest should be Vice-President. This plan was satisfactory enough at the first two elections but at the close of Washington's administration political parties with candidates who bitterly opposed each other arose, and the plan could no longer be continued because President and Vice-President so elected were reasonably sure to be political enemies. Every President since Washington has been the representative of a powerful political party, although the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution which changed the original plan, says nothing about political parties, but it provides candidates for both Presidency and Vice-Presidency, who are always elected from the same party.

Each state chooses as many electors as it has members in the Senate and House combined. These electors merely vote as they are expected to for the party candidate. It was originally supposed that

they might express their own political opinions but an elector who failed to carry out the party will would now be regarded as a traitor to those who elected him.

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The White House—Front View. The home provided by the government for the President of the United States.

Since electors are chosen by states, greatest attention during the political campaign is centered upon "doubtful states," especially if they are populous enough to have a large number of electoral votes. It is more worth while to employ the best political speakers to carry a state with thirty elec-

tors than one with only three or four. In the same way a state whose political history shows unbroken allegiance to the same party is not likely to receive so much attention as the one which casts small majorities now for one party and then for another.

If the President were chosen by direct vote of all the people, the candidate receiving most votes would of course be elected, but this is not always what happens under the electoral college plan. To understand how a "minority President" is possible, study the little tabulation which follows; it indicates only in a general way how a result like that of the election in 1888 can occur. At that time Harrison had sixty-five more electoral votes than Cleveland although the latter had one hundred thousand greater popular vote.

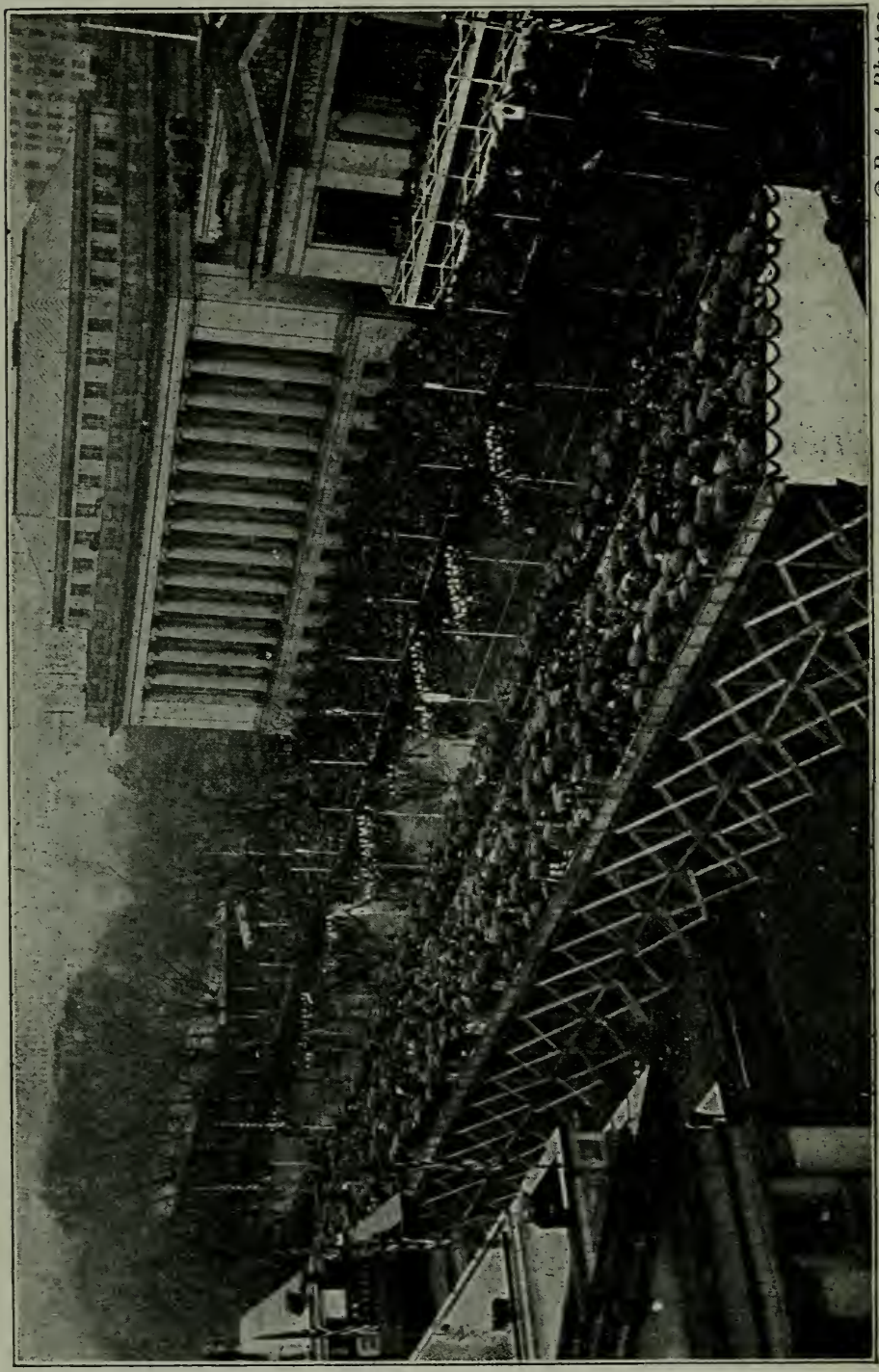
State	Democratic Votes	Republican Votes	Democratic Electors	Republican Electors
A.....	300,000	100,000	4	0
B.....	390,000	410,000	0	8
C.....	600,000	700,000	0	13
D.....	540,000	560,000	0	11
Total..	1,830,000	1,770,000	4	32

In this example the democratic popular vote is sixty thousand greater than the republican but the republicans have thirty-two electoral votes while the democrats secure only four. As long as electors are chosen by states it will be possible to have minority presidents.

Presidential elections occur the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November every fourth year, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932. Election night is a time of great excitement as returns are reported. Though several days sometimes elapse before results are established beyond doubt, the country usually knows very soon who its next President will be. He is not actually elected until the electors meet in their respective states, cast their ballots, send them to Washington, and the President of the Senate receives and counts them. To make sure these ballots reach Washington, one list is mailed, one is sent by a special messenger, and one is deposited with the judge of the federal district court. The President is inaugurated on January 20. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court administers the oath of office upon the same Bible used at the inauguration of George Washington. The exact wording of the oath is given in the Constitution, Article II, Section 8. (See page 342.)

If no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the President is elected by the House of Representatives (Twelfth Amendment, page 349). Jefferson and John Quincy Adams were thus chosen.

In order to make sure that someone is ready to act in case the President dies or is unable to perform his duties, the Constitution created the office of Vice-President. The question of who would serve in case the Vice-President also were not able to act was often discussed but never finally answered un-



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A Presidential Inaugural Parade. The picture shows the parade passing down Pennsylvania Avenue with throngs of people on both sides of the street.

til 1886, when the Presidential Succession Law settled the matter by naming the cabinet officers in the order which follows:

Secretary of State.
Secretary of the Treasury.
Secretary of War.
Attorney General.
Postmaster General.
Secretary of the Navy.
Secretary of the Interior.

The President's office is too important to allow any doubt as to who is expected to act in the event of his death.

Who May Be Elected President. The Constitution requires three qualifications of the President (or Vice-President). He must be not less than thirty-five years of age, a natural born citizen, and a resident of the country not less than fourteen years. Thus no one but a genuine American can hold our most important office.

Custom imposes other conditions in selecting the President. Since success of a political party may depend upon election results in doubtful states, candidates who live in these states are likely to receive the nomination. It is said to be bad politics to choose candidates for either President or Vice-President from states in which their party is very strong. The Vice-President's office, said to be "a tail to the President's kite" is usually filled by a candidate chosen with great regard to geographical in-

fluence upon the party of which he is one of the chief standard bearers. Until 1928 no President had been elected from west of the Mississippi River and in sixty years only one from New England and none from the "solid South." And, of course, though the Constitution says nothing about it, no one but a thoroughly honest, well educated man has any chance of nomination or election.

Term of Office. Presidential elections excite the country and are not good for business. For these reasons some think they should not come as often as they do. Others say that four years is not a long enough period for the President to carry out any great plans; he must give too much attention to politics. When our government was started people were afraid of a long term, thinking the President might wish to keep himself in office, even to become a king. Now no one seems to have this fear, though we willingly give the President more authority than any king possesses. It is perfectly understood that when the President's term is over, he will at once become a private citizen, without claim to official authority. Perhaps no one would care to make the term shorter; some would like it to be eight years without possibility of re-election. Still others insist that while presidential elections cost a great deal in time and money, they are the best means of keeping voters educated politically, a necessity in a country where everyone shares in the government. While it is customary to elect a President a second

time if his record and the condition of the country are satisfactory, the example of Washington in refusing a third term has prevailed. Though we are no longer afraid to trust our chief executive with so long an administration only a very unusual condition could result in electing the same candidate the third time.

Powers of the President. As head of a government employing hundreds of thousands of persons, the President's power is very great, not alone in law-enforcing but in law-making and law-interpreting. The people, by looking to him as their leader, have increased his influence far beyond what is provided in the Constitution or even in law. In any enumeration of his powers, it should be remembered that every act of a cabinet officer or of an executive department is an act of the President since the President appoints these heads and is responsible for their work.

1. *Military Powers.* As commander-in-chief of the army and navy, the President exercises authority which in war is practically without limit. Lincoln became almost a dictator; he took every means which seemed necessary to win the war; the war powers of President Wilson were very great. In all such cases, the people realize the necessity of prompt action without wasting time in argument; they follow the lead of the strong character they have chosen to do their will.

2. *Power of Appointment.* The Constitution gives

the President power to appoint many officers, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." He is almost entirely free in choosing members of the cabinet; since he must work directly with them and be responsible, no one should interfere with his appointing or dismissing them. With regard to other officers, in spite of Jefferson's opinion that the "Senate is only to see that no unfit person is appointed," the Senate has caused trouble to many of our Presidents. By "senatorial courtesy" individual senators, if of the President's political party, also expect to be consulted about important appointments in their own states.

The task of appointing thousands of officers from tens-of-thousands of office seekers is the most burdensome duty of the President. Congress has by law given him final appointive power in the case of many minor federal officials, but growth of civil service reform (page 201) is gradually reducing this burden. There is no Constitutional provision for removing officers by the President but, in general, he may remove those whom he may appoint. He cannot remove Supreme Court justices nor officers who are under civil service rules.

3. *Pardoning Power.* The power of the President to grant pardons is limited to violations of United States law or military orders, but in these fields there is practically no limit to his power, though he has no authority in cases of impeachment.

4. *Power in Foreign Affairs.* The President is

supreme in dealing with representatives from foreign countries and with the ambassadors, ministers, and consuls we send to them. He has absolute power to recognize or not to recognize new governments, a very important duty in dealing with the republics to the south of us. Though the President cannot declare war, he can bring about a situation which may make war unavoidable, as was the case when Polk sent an army into disputed territory where our soldiers were fired upon. In all dealings with foreign powers the President works through the State Department, and all negotiations may be secret.

An important part of the President's relation to foreign governments is his treaty-making power. A treaty may be made by the President but to become effective it must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. Since a treaty is defined in the Constitution as part of the law of the land, its ratification is to some extent at least a law-making act, and the Senate has repeatedly tried to amend treaties as prepared by the President, and has often thwarted his will by refusing ratification.

5. *Legislative Powers.* It has been noted (page 145) that Congress, though a law-making body, has great influence over law enforcement. The President, although he is an executive officer, has even greater influence upon law making. Some of his legislative power rests upon provisions of the Constitution; some of it depends upon custom and the position of the President as political leader.

(a) *Constitutional Provisions.* The Constitution, as has been noted, gives treaties negotiated by the President, and ratified by the Senate, the force of law. It authorizes the President to call Congress in extra session whenever, in his opinion, new laws or appropriations of money are needed. It is made the duty of the President to recommend action by Congress in his messages; these are either annual or special and though Congress may pass none of the laws suggested, the President's message always receives attention both from lawmakers and the voting public. It is interesting to note that our first two Presidents delivered their messages to Congress in person: Jefferson sent his message to be read and this plan was followed from 1801 to 1913 when President Wilson revived the custom of delivering the message in person.

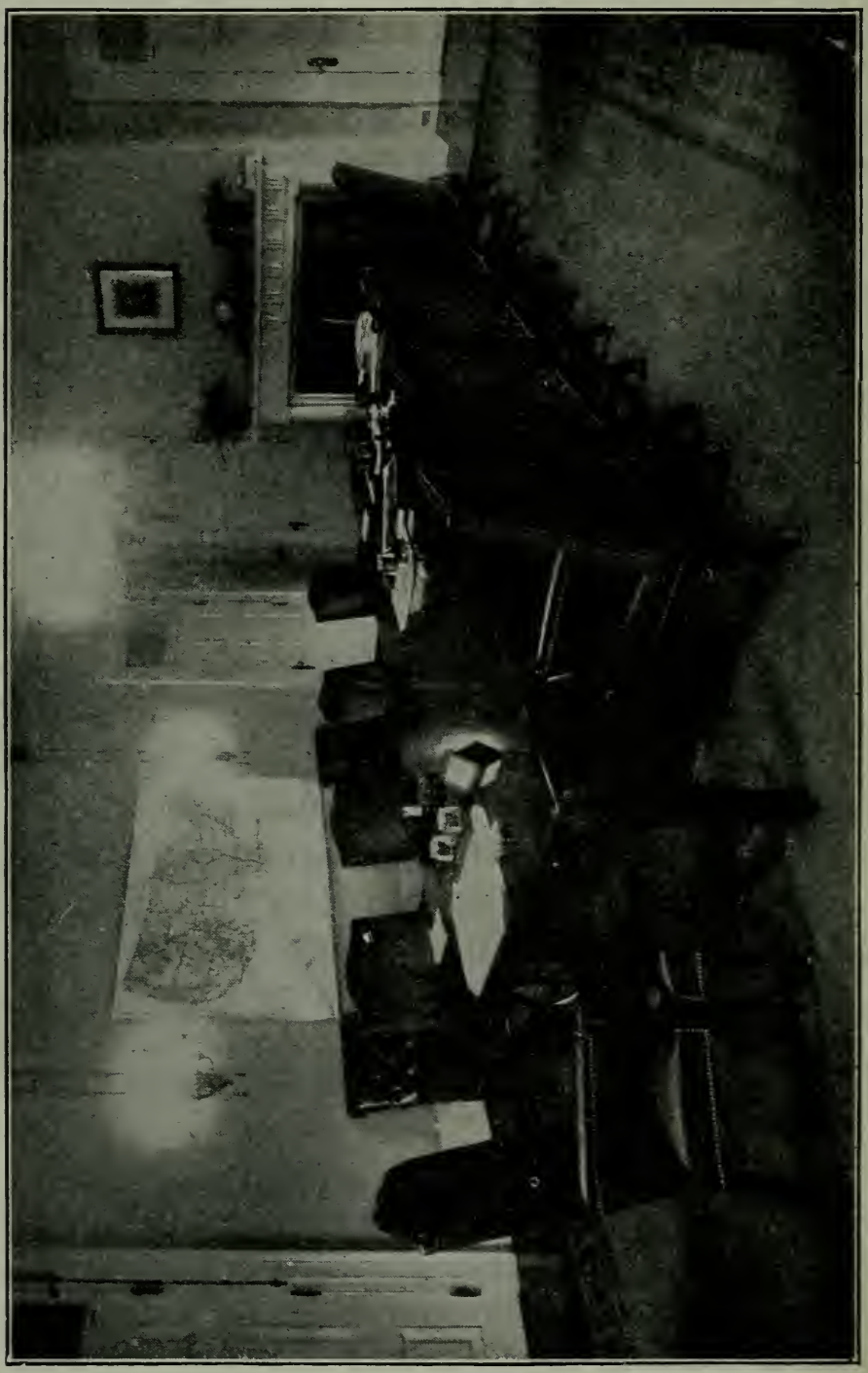
By his veto power (page 143) the President may greatly delay or change law making. This power was very slightly used by our early Presidents, only nine measures being vetoed in forty-one years, but Jackson vetoed many more than that, and since his time lack of agreement between the President and Congress has resulted in a more extended use of the veto power.

(b) *Extra Legal Customs.* The President cannot introduce a bill into Congress but he never encounters difficulty in finding a member of Congress to introduce and champion such a bill, which receives special attention as an "administration measure."

Members of the President's cabinet cannot debate in Congress but they have great influence in law making by furnishing opinions and information to committees of the Senate and the House. These committees as we have seen, are often the deciding influence in passing laws.

Many regulations of the Patent Office, Pension Bureau, Indian Bureau, Consular Service, and other departments, bureaus, and divisions go into effect and have all the force of law without any action of Congress. There is much of such "law making without legislation"; at any time a law can be passed changing such regulations but until special necessity arises, it seems a wise economy to allow those who know most about their problems to make their own rules.

(c) *The President as Party Leader.* The party platform and the President's letter of acceptance of the nomination center attention upon laws favored by public opinion. The President is leader of all the people, responsible for seeing that their will is carried out in law making. He is able to exert great influence upon legislation because of this fact. The public knows what laws the President favors, and exactly which members of Congress support or oppose his will. Under these circumstances, it is not easy for members of either house to oppose the President when he recommends passage of a measure supported by public opinion. And though no President barters appointments for the votes of



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The Room Where the President and His Cabinet Hold Their Meetings

Senators and Representatives, the fact that the party leader who can make political appointments favors a bill, insures it careful attention. No politician prefers to oppose his chief.

The President's Cabinet. Some of those who framed our Constitution believed that the Senate might act as a small advisory body for the President. Had this come to pass we should have had something like the cabinet government of England, in which members take an active part in Parliament; though it has been discussed repeatedly, Congress has never given cabinet officers the right to speak in either house. Cabinet members, after appointment, are responsible alone to the President who appoints them; Congress cannot make them resign nor, except by impeachment, call them in question. The President is held accountable for their work.

In appointing his cabinet the President considers personal fitness, party service in the past, and probable effect upon party strength in the future. Some of his official family must be capable business men and all must be experienced in dealing with the public if the administration is to be in the greatest possible degree successful. So important are cabinet officers that many are inclined to base their support of a Presidential candidate upon his probable cabinet appointments.

The cabinet has weekly meetings at which important matters are considered but no record is kept

other than a brief statement for the newspapers. Usually questions arising in relation to the Department of State are considered first, followed by others in the order the departments are listed in the pages which follow; this program is varied so that most important problems may receive attention whenever they arise.

Executive Departments. In addition to being one of the President's advisers, each cabinet member is head of a great administrative department—some of these employing thousands of persons. Most of the duties of the President are transacted through these departments. They enforce laws passed by Congress; in brief, they carry on the work of the federal government. Each department includes several bureaus in charge of commissioners, or divisions headed by directors. Only the most important duties of each department can be noted here.

1. *Department of State.* This department has charge of our foreign relations. We send ambassadors to leading countries like England and Italy; to small nations we send ministers. In all important commercial cities, we have consuls who protect business interests of Americans abroad and look for opportunities to expand our commerce. Passports are issued by the State Department, for the purpose of guaranteeing the American traveler his rights in foreign countries to which he may journey. The State Department has charge of the great seal of

the United States, preserves copies of all laws and publishes these in accordance with law.

2. *Treasury Department.* The Treasury Department collects all tariff duties on imported goods, all internal revenue upon such articles as tobacco, and all income taxes. In collecting duties swift boats called revenue cutters are used to prevent smuggling goods into the country without payment of duty. In connection with this work the life saving service of the government is maintained on all our coasts.

With all our sources of income, war made it necessary to borrow billions of dollars by issuing bonds and thrift stamps which are government promises to pay with interest. The Treasury Department has charge of issuing these. Though they do not pay a high rate of interest, they are the safest investment in the world. All our money and stamps are made under the supervision of the Treasury Department. American paper money is made with great care. It is convenient, durable and very hard to counterfeit. Our coins are made at the mints located at Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco. The Treasury Department also directs National Banks, Farm Loan Banks, and the Federal Reserve Bank. Examiners are sent to all of these to make sure that they are safely operated. The Bureau of War Risk which looks after Soldiers' Life Insurance is part of the Treasury Department.

3. *The War Department.* This department cares for the details of our military forces. In time of peace, the United States has a very small army, but in war this department expands. The United States has always practiced preparedness to the extent of having well trained officers ready for a much larger army than that of "peace footing." These leaders are trained at West Point Military Academy, and in various training camps, all directed by the War Department.

4. *Department of Justice.* This division of the executive branch of the government is headed by the Attorney-General. The Department of Justice directs the work of United States district attorneys and gives legal advice to the President and heads of departments, since it is better to know beforehand the full meaning of law than to depend upon decisions of the courts. The Department of Justice renders opinions, in a sense deciding cases before they actually arise. Such opinions may, of course, be over-ruled by a final decision of the court.

5. *Post Office Department.* The Postmaster-General who is usually an able business man has charge of the department of federal government with which we are in most constant contact. Our government has always encouraged the circulation of papers and magazines and the writing of letters. This policy has greatly aided communication and the spread of intelligence. If you visit a post office and make a list of its activities, it may be surprising to note

how much this department is doing for all of us. Stamps, post cards, newspaper wrappers, registry, money, parcel post, rural free delivery, air mail service, are some of the names which indicate what our people do for themselves through the post office. Careful wrapping of packages and plainly written addresses represent ways in which boys and girls can help this branch of the government.

6. *Navy Department.* Unlike the army which is very small, our navy is very powerful. The Secretary of the Navy is in charge of this great force and of the Naval Academy at Annapolis where our naval officers are trained.

7. *Department of the Interior.* The duties of the Department of the Interior are varied and are concerned with domestic affairs. The General Land Office supervises the surveying and selling of the public lands of the United States. The Pension Office investigates claims for pensions and oversees payment to the proper dependent members of the families of those who gave service in the army or navy. Irrigation and reclamation projects are carried on under the Bureau of Reclamation and have made great areas of arid land productive. The Geological Survey spreads intelligence concerning our mineral resources. The National Park Service sets aside tracts of land as national parks and has charge of their maintenance. The Office of Indian Affairs administers all matters relating to our Indian population, and the Bureau of Education compiles and publishes

statistics in regard to educational progress that will be of benefit to the school official and the public in general.

8. *Department of Agriculture.* Most of the activities of this great department are related to the work of the farmer. The Bureau of Plant Industry seeks the world over for new varieties of useful plants, fights plant diseases, and keeps poor seed from being sold. The Bureau of Soils investigates soils and fertilizers. The Bureau of Crop Estimates issues a monthly crop report based upon information from every section of the country. The Weather Bureau issues daily reports and forecasts. The Bureau of Chemistry helps to enforce the Pure Food and Drug Act. The Bureau of Entomology issues suggestions for destroying insect pests. To preserve our few remaining forests, the Forest Service has set aside and maintained national reserves since 1891. These are a part of the important bureaus or divisions of the Department of Agriculture. The intelligent farmer is able to secure help in solving almost any agricultural problem by writing to the Department at Washington or to the State Agricultural College. Boys' and girls' club work is directed by this department. Those who belong to these clubs will soon be our most progressive farmers.

9. *Department of Commerce.* The Census Bureau which finds the population of the United States every tenth year and assembles this and other statistical information in usable form is part of this

department. A Bureau of Standards determines our weights and measures, and a Bureau of Mines supervises the work of preserving our mineral resources.

10. *Department of Labor.* This department collects information relative to labor and endeavors to improve conditions of living among those who toil. A Bureau of Immigration helps the unemployed; the Bureau of Naturalization encourages aliens to become citizens. The Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau make investigations which should lead to better working and housing conditions and to better opportunities for rearing of children.

State Executive Departments. 1. *Constitutional Officers.* Each state has an executive department resembling in many ways the executive branch of the National Government. At the head is the Governor; the Lieutenant-Governor corresponds to the Vice-President; Secretary of State, State Treasurer, and Attorney-General may be roughly compared to cabinet officers. In most states there is an auditor and in all a state superintendent or commissioner of schools. State constitutions prescribe the qualifications, term of office, and duties of these, most of whom are elected by popular vote. The Governor, like the President, enforces laws, makes appointments, recommends new legislation, exercises the veto power, and issues pardons. Unlike the President, he does not appoint the other most important executive officers; they, being elected in the same

way as the Governor, are not obligated to follow his lead, with the result that there is sometimes serious lack of co-operation in state government.

2. *State Offices and Commissions Created by Law.* The simply organized state executive governments just described, failed to provide for many modern problems and for the increasing number of services which states are performing. Universities, normal schools, prisons, reformatories, and institutions for the mentally or physically defective are controlled by boards, usually serving without compensation. Many states have commissions of experts who are given wide powers in regulating railroads and street railways. A State Board of Health enforces health and sanitation standards. Grain inspectors, boiler inspectors, hotel inspectors, factory inspectors, and examining boards for licensing teachers, lawyers, physicians, dentists, accountants, engineers, and barbers are part of the states' executive machinery.

Reorganization of Executive Departments. In both national and state governments there is a great need of economy of effort. As each new problem has appeared the usual plan has been to create an additional board or commission to deal with it. Sometimes several boards are at work on the same problem, each in its own way and frequently in ignorance of the others' efforts. Some state officers, like the Governor, may be *ex-officio* members of dozens of these boards with the result that time for sufficient study of any one question is lacking. Occa-

sionally there is serious disagreement among such boards, two of them claiming authority to deal with the same situation, or quite as often, claiming that some other board or officer should act. When there is much of the latter tendency, the public loses confidence in its experts and accuses them of "passing the buck," that is, of shirking responsibility. Government by commissions costs much of the people's money and they demand results, often more immediately than anyone can bring them about. The real cause of disappointment at results achieved by boards and commissions is not found in any lack of honesty or willingness to co-operate but in the very perplexing nature of the problems we expect them to solve. As an example, many states have some kind of tax commission; after reading Chapter Fifteen you can see how very difficult it is to solve taxing problems with fairness to all so that each shall contribute his just share toward carrying on our government. Solution of these problems will call for the greatest skill and patriotism which our country has ever needed. Patriotism may show itself in years of study of budgets, tax-lists, government expenses, and economic problems and in thoughtful attention to attempts to secure fuller justice for all.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note that the acts of all the cabinet members are considered as acts of the President because these members are appointed by him and are responsible to him.

2. Observe that state law-enforcing departments are similar to the national law-enforcing department.

Test Exercises

Match items in the first list with corresponding items in the second list by putting the numbers of the two items together on a slip of paper.

1. The President 3	1. is chairman of the Senate.
2. The Department of Agriculture 9	2. directs military training camps.
3 The President's cabinet 5	3. is commander-in-chief of the army and navy.
4. The Department of Justice 6	4. issues passports.
5. The Vice-President 1	5. is appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate.
6. The War Department 2	6. gives legal advice to the President.
7. The Department of State 4	7. is in charge of the coinage of money.
8. The Treasury Department 7	8. is in charge of reclamation projects.
9. The Department of the Interior 8	9. is in charge of the Weather Bureau.
10. The Post Office Department 12	10. encourages aliens to become citizens.
11. The Navy Department 13	11. supervises the taking of a United States census.
12. The Department of Labor 10	12. directs air mail service.
13. The Department of Commerce 11	13. has charge of the Naval Academy.

Suggested Activities

1. Men have come to be President in three ways: (a) election by the electoral college; (b) the Vice-President succeeding the President; (c) election by the House of Representatives. Find out two other possible ways of becoming President.

2. Explain why a reorganization of executive departments in both national and state governments is desirable.

3. Find out how many electoral votes are required for the election of the President. Find out how many electoral votes were cast for Herbert Hoover.

4. Find out the names and titles of the officers in your state government which correspond to the President, Vice-President, Secretary of State, and Attorney-General in the national government.

5. Write a short paragraph on the work of the United States Census Bureau.

6. Choose sides and debate one of these questions:
   (a) Resolved, That the President of the United States should be elected for a term of six years and be ineligible for re-election.
   (b) Resolved, That the President of the United States should be elected by direct vote.

CHAPTER XIII

LAW INTERPRETING

Do You Know These Terms?

code, 180.
precedent, 183.
statutory law, 181.
common law, 182.
petit jury, 184.
grand jury, 184.
Bill of Rights, 185.
unconstitutional, 184.
civil case, 186.
federal courts, 186.
decision, 187.
jurisdiction, 189.
"admiralty and maritime jurisdiction," 190.
corporation, 190.
injunction, 192.

In making decisions judges use words according to their exact meanings. Find what the words in this list mean.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Be sure that you understand the importance of law-interpreting in our local and national governments.
2. Learn the bases for court decisions.
3. Find out what some of the problems of our courts are and how our court system could be improved.

Playground Law. "It isn't fair," said Harry as a player passed a base without touching it. "There's nothing fair about it and I am going to quit." In another game a player did the same thing; the two sides began to argue but the umpire stopped all argument by deciding that the player was out.

In the first case there seemed to be a rule but no one to interpret or decide whether it was being kept. Each player could decide for himself and the game came to a sudden end. In the second it had been agreed that all would heed the decision of one

who knew the rules and watched every play to see that all played fair. Rules and regulations enforced by the proper authority made continuance of the game possible and made it less easy for a player to so lose his head as to threaten in a complaining way to quit the game. Through its schools each community tries to develop in children the power to control themselves and to guide their own actions properly. Especially are children taught to obey rules and regulations laid down as a basis for group co-operation.

Interpreting Community Rules. Living and co-operating in any community are in many ways like playing a game, though, of course, no one can get mad and quit as he may on the playground if he is selfish or is not what is commonly known as a good sport; if he leaves one community, he is pretty sure to find that others have much the same rules. The more important rules are called laws; the officers who most nearly act the part of the umpire are called judges. Judges, like the umpire, do not make laws but they interpret and apply them.

Wherever men have lived and worked together, they have made laws to guide them. There have always been a few of the strong who tried to impose upon the weak, or of the intelligent who were dishonest enough to take advantage of the stupid and ignorant.

Might Is Not Right in Interpreting Rules. No one ever heard of a tribe so uncivilized that it had

no rules or customs which were enforced like laws. Sometimes no better way to decide disputed cases than by fighting could be found. In a civilized community, it is very unusual for individuals to decide who is right by fighting it out, though nations confess by going to war that they have not learned to abide by laws nor to submit their differences to judges. "Might does not make right," and war is no more sure to result in justice than is a fight between individuals.

Laws Define Rights and Duties. As people became more civilized, able to co-operate in a greater number of undertakings for the common welfare, the most important rules were taught to all so that each should know his rights and his duties. Some people talk a great deal about their "natural rights" as if their community owed them something. This is not true, for "natural duties" are always to be looked for when rights are defined. Laws are simply statements of rights and duties which a community or group agrees that its members may or must have.

Why Judges Are Needed. No laws can make everyone's duty plain to him at all times. The greatest code of laws ever made, the Ten Commandments, says, "Thou shalt not steal," but in addition to what all recognize as stealing, one may steal another's pleasure or comfort by filling the air with smoke or by incessant playing of a tune which only the player enjoys. Even when all mean to do right,

judges are needed to tell what laws mean as well as to decide what shall be done when they have been disobeyed.

Chiefs, strong men, and kings used to act as judges, partly because they were best able to compel obedience after their decision had been made. Force and superstition often entered into their judgments in a way which seems to us very crude. It is said that an Indian chief, uncertain as to a just opinion, would throw the accused into the river; if he swam out he was declared innocent; if he drowned, guilty. Disputes were settled by games of chance and by what was known as an ordeal in which guilt or innocence of the accused was determined by his ability to endure some hardship like walking through the fire without being harmed.

Written Laws and Courts. Long before our government was established under the Constitution, all civilized countries had rights and duties defined by clearly written laws; all had courts with judges who had an expert knowledge of the law and everywhere were lawyers, ready to defend the accused by explaining the law as it applied under the circumstances which the evidence established or to prosecute wrong-doers. Englishmen had developed legal institutions and customs unlike those of any other country; to England we owe three of the most important inheritances which have influenced law interpreting and legal justice in this country.

Inheritances from England. 1. *Statutory Laws.*

Laws are rules to guide our conduct and to make possible the right decisions in disputed cases. You may remember how hard it is in playground games to make rules which will always work. Most quarrels occur when new conditions arise. Some boys had applied the rule "over the fence is out" to their ball game; one batter knocked the ball *through* the hole in the fence, a thing which might not happen again in many years. The game broke up because the players could not agree as to whether the ball had gone "over the fence." Though these boys did not know it, that question had been ruled upon many times before. Some ball clubs had made out sets of rules, one of which settled the matter; umpires in the absence of any rules on this subject had made decisions. Had the boys been acquainted with these facts, they might have decided by law, saying, "That is the American rule"; or they might have said, "The great umpire Bill Jennings decided it thus." The first might be called deciding by *statute;* the second by *precedent.*

The statutory laws in the American colonies were those which had been passed by parliament and by colonial legislatures. Many cases might have arisen which neither parliament nor colonial assemblies had ever passed laws to cover.

2. *Common Law.* During century after century, English judges had been deciding cases. If parliament had made a statute which could be applied, parliament, itself, would determine the decision; if

the statute could not be applied, the judge would look into records of past decisions and decide by *precedent.* If he could find no precedent, he would make his own decision which would henceforth become a precedent or guide for other judges. In this way a witty remark often quoted sometimes proves to be true, "When a judge makes a mistake it becomes a law of the land." The great body of English court decisions which may be called "judge made laws" had been collected and published and were used in our courts. It was and is called *common law.*

Law interpreting and justice are now dependent upon statutory law and upon common law—the law of precedents. Statutory laws are those made by Congress and the legislature of our states, with, of course, such ordinances as the states may authorize smaller communities to make. Judges make their decisions according to statutory law instead of by precedents if the two are not in agreement.

3. *Trial by Jury.* Englishmen early secured the right to trial by a jury of their peers or equals and they earnestly defended this political inheritance. Trial by jury was established in all the colonies when the Constitution was adopted and it provides that all crimes against the United States, except in case of impeachment, shall be tried by jury. (Article III, Section 2, Clause 3.) To make sure that jury trial would be preserved the Sixth and Seventh Amendments further strengthened the assurance of

a jury trial. If the value of property in dispute exceeds twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury may be insisted upon.

When the word *jury* is used, it usually refers to the *petit jury* which listens to evidence given at a trial and renders its verdict. A *grand jury* hears evidence concerning a person accused of crime to determine whether the evidence is sufficient to make a trial worth while. If the evidence seems sufficient, the *grand jury* reports a *true bill* and the accused is held for trial; if the evidence seems to rest merely upon personal dislike, hearsay, or mere rumor, the accused is released without a court trial.

The Constitution Supreme. To our English inheritance of statutory law, common law, and trial by jury, a strictly American idea is added, that of a written constitution which is above all law. This gives our courts a power never conferred upon courts in other countries, that of declaring acts of law-making bodies *null and void* if they conflict with this document.

The body of the Constitution contains many provisions which limit the power of the federal government; if Congress should pass laws which disregard these provisions in regard to subjects upon which Congress is not authorized to legislate, the courts would have to declare the laws unconstitutional. If you read Articles IV and VI of the Constitution you will find some things which the United States cannot do, some which states are prohibited from doing,

and some which neither the national nor the state governments can do. (Read Article VI, Clause 2 which declares that the Constitution is supreme.)

In addition to these provisions in the original Constitution, the Bill of Rights which Englishmen had won after so many years of struggle, was considered so important that Americans included such a bill in their Constitution at the earliest opportunity by adding the amendments. These rights which are so often thoughtlessly taken for granted, are an effective safeguard against any tendency of our government to take away the people's rights. To make sure of this safeguard the Ninth and Tenth Amendments say, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

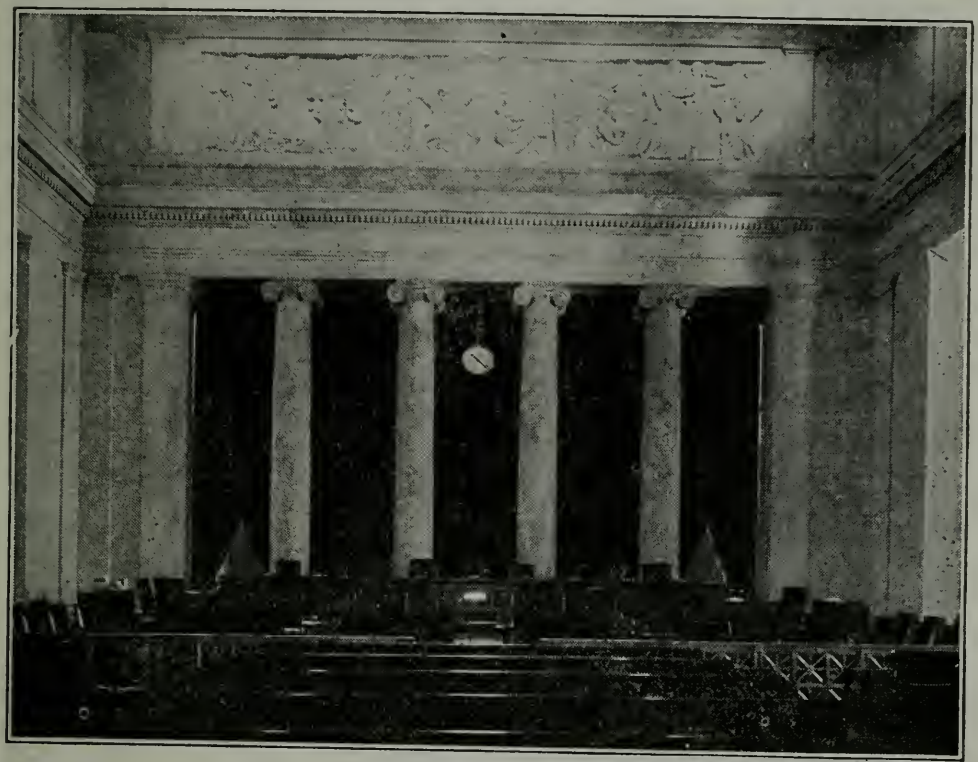
Court Procedure. Amendments V-VIII especially apply to procedure of the courts themselves. In reading these intelligently, a few legal terms must be understood.

Criminal cases are those in which a person is accused of grave wrongdoing punishable by heavy fine, imprisonment, or death. Counterfeiting, forgery, or murder are *felonies*. A lesser wrong legally punishable is called a *misdemeanor*. In criminal cases the United States or a state is the prosecutor endeavoring to prove the guilt of the accused; unless this

guilt is proved the accused is declared innocent of the charge. In *civil cases* the right to property of some kind is always involved. A dispute over a "line fence," an irrigation ditch, or an unpaid bill may result in a civil case. The *plaintiff* (the one who complains) brings suit against the *defendant* to recover his property rights. In civil cases there is no question of crime against individuals, the community, or the state; there is controversy over property rights which is decided by the courts.

United States Courts. There were no national courts under the Articles of Confederation. There was general agreement among framers of the Constitution that our government must have courts but no one was sure what they should be like. For this reason the Constitution mentions only the Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time "ordain and establish." It also makes the term of federal judges "during good behavior" which usually means for life and provides that they shall receive a salary which cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. (Article III, page 343.) These important provisions place our federal courts in a very strong position. Judges do not need to consider politics as members of the legislative and executive branches must. They do not depend upon election to office but are appointed by the President with consent of the Senate. They can be removed only by impeachment with which the President has nothing to do. They ren-

der their decisions in accordance with the Constitution, federal laws, and treaties. If a majority of voters do not like their decisions, they can in due time change the law or amend the Constitution,



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The Supreme Court Chamber. This is in the new home of the Supreme Court at Washington. The Chief Justice occupies the chair in the center of the row, while the eight Associate Justices take their places on either side of him, those with longest service being seated nearest to the Chief Justice.

but all faultfinding directed toward United States courts can have no effect upon the term, salary, or duties of the judges themselves.

1. *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court consisted at first of only six justices. It seemed to have little to do, though quarrels about state boundaries

soon furnished an abundance of business. During the long term of John Marshall as Chief Justice the power of the court was greatly strengthened. There are now nine justices and the court is kept fully occupied in spite of the fact that other courts have relieved it of many kinds of cases. Nearly all the work of the Supreme Court consists of cases appealed from the lower courts. It reviews evidence but does not hear witnesses; its judges sometimes read thousands of pages of law and evidence to make possible a decision. Its thoroughness, dignity, and reputation for being fair makes a position as Supreme Court Justice very highly regarded. Lawyers whose private practice earns many times as much, are glad to give this up and serve their country on the supreme bench at the salary of $20,000.00 now paid. ($20,500.00 for chief justice.)

2. *Circuit Court of Appeals.* There are ten of these courts in the ten districts into which the country is divided. To each is allotted one of the justices of the Supreme Court who may act as its judge. In practice, however, these justices find little time for work with the Circuit Court of Appeals, being fully occupied as they are with work of the Supreme Court itself. A judge of the federal district court may preside. Each court has three or more judges of its own and a United States Marshal who carries out its orders and cares for its property. These courts were created to relieve the Supreme Court of some of its burdens.

3. *Federal District Courts.* Of these there are eighty-nine, each state having at least one, some having three or four. Each has a district judge who resides in the district. To each district court is assigned a United States attorney who is appointed by the President and represents the Attorney-General directly, and each has a United States Marshal.

4. *Other Federal Courts.* The Court of Claims hears and passes upon claims against the United States which, without its own consent, cannot be sued in a regular court. The Court of Customs Appeal deals with cases growing out of collection of duties upon imports. There is a court for the District of Columbia for which Congress according to the Constitution must provide a government.

Jurisdiction of Courts. Jurisdiction means the right and duty to decide. The umpire of a ball game may be said to have jurisdiction over the game but he cannot prescribe how players spell their names. Federal District Courts have original jurisdiction; they are the first United States Courts to which most cases are brought. In some classes of cases, they also have final jurisdiction, that is their decision settles the case. In other cases, either party, if dissatisfied with the decision may make appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals which is thus said to have *appellate* jurisdiction. Nearly all of the Supreme Court's work comes through appeal and of course its jurisdiction is final.

Powers of Federal Courts. United States Courts can decide only in cases which are affected by the Constitution, laws passed by Congress, and treaties. The Constitution mentions "cases in law or equity in which the federal constitution, federal statutes or treaties are involved and cases of 'admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.' "

If ambassadors, ministers, or consuls are parties to a suit or if the United States is a party, United States Courts must decide. If two or more states are in a dispute, only federal courts could be expected to render an impartial decision. None of the classes of cases so far named furnishes the courts with much business, though states formerly had many disagreements about their boundaries.

"Citizens of different states parties to a suit" is the provision which includes most work of federal courts. A question long unsettled was whether corporations which of course are not persons were to be considered citizens. In general these are now held to be "artificial persons" and for business and court purposes, citizens of the state in which they are organized. Cases arising between citizens of a state and aliens naturally are for the consideration of United States Courts.

State Courts. Most law-interpreting is done by state courts. They decide in all cases in which there is no question of violation of federal constitution or laws. They have original and usually final jurisdic-

tion in the large number of cases affecting rights of persons, and property, and in criminal cases. Most states have a Supreme Court which like the Supreme Court of the United States decides upon law questions or determines whether state laws themselves are in harmony with the state constitution, but do not examine witnesses and take evidence as to facts. State and local courts base their decisions upon statutory laws passed by the legislature and upon precedents from other states and from United States Courts.

Most states have district or circuit courts which have final jurisdiction in cases involving property of less than a given value. In some states a county court does the work, while in others it is given to the district courts. County courts in most states try all cases arising within the county and all which are appealed from the justice's court. At the bottom of the state judicial system are justice's courts presided over by the justice of the peace. He may decide in cases of misdemeanors and controversies in which the value in question is small.

Judges in state and local courts are usually elected by the people, though in some states judges of higher courts are appointed by the governor, the appointment being confirmed by one or both houses of the legislature. While they do not have the standing of permanently appointed federal judges, a judge who makes a good record is often re-elected

many times. Lawyers appreciate judges who are fair-minded and businesslike, and they use their influence to have such men elected.

Legislative and Executive Power of Courts. 1. *Law Making by Precedent.* Courts do not confine their efforts to law-interpreting as has been noted. They interpret such laws as have been made but there are always cases in which no law applies. Court decisions in this very numerous class of cases are precedents with all the authority of laws until the law-making body expressly makes a law which covers the case.

2. *Declaring Laws Unconstitutional.* Both federal and state Supreme Courts may exert a negative influence upon legislatures by declaring that laws passed conflict with the Constitution. Not many such decisions are rendered for these courts endeavor wherever possible to interpret laws so that there is no conflict with the Constitution. The fact that courts have this great power to annul should make law-making bodies very careful about the laws they pass.

3. *Granting Injunctions.* Courts exercise great power by granting injunctions. An injunction is a temporary restraining order. It may command persons or corporations not to perform certain acts or not to cease performing them. If the injunction is not obeyed, the one who fails to heed the order is declared in contempt of court and may be fined or imprisoned. Injunctions are used until by due trial

a disputed case may be settled. It may take months or even years to reach a legal settlement; meanwhile the injunction has all the force of law.

Problems of Our Courts. While our courts, especially those of the Federal government, have remained out of politics and have interpreted laws honestly and impartially, the public has found a great deal of fault with them, especially in recent years.

The "law's delay" is complained of. Court procedure is slow and lawyers find technicalities which cause unnecessary delays in the decisions of the court. Sometimes cases are prolonged over a period of several years. Such methods work a severe hardship on the poor, who cannot afford to hire the best lawyers and to wait for the long delays of the court. When people lose confidence in their courts they sometimes take the law into their own hands and the result is usually violence—going back to a savage way of determining what is right. As civilization progresses and as the authority of the courts becomes more firmly established, violence of this kind becomes less frequent. Obedience to law is encouraged by prompt action of the courts and the immediate punishment of offenders.

Sometimes after a long, tedious, and expensive trial further delay is caused by appeal to a higher court. The rich can afford such appeals; the poor cannot. All believe that fullest opportunity should be given to secure final justice by appeal, but ap-

peals made with no likelihood of changing the decision and only securing delay in carrying out the court's decision should not be allowed.

The increased use of injunctions in recent years has caused much fault to be found with the courts. The injunction is only another form of delay and it is possible that any change which will result in increasing the promptness of courts in rendering decisions will decrease the use of the injunction.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note that the Constitution of the United States provides specifically for only one court.

2. Note that we have inherited from England certain procedures in law-interpreting.

3. Note that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme authority for the interpretation of law.

Test Exercises

1. The following paragraph is taken from the Constitution of the United States. Write on a separate piece of paper the missing words.

"The _____ power of the United States shall be vested in one _____ court, and in such inferior _____ as the _____ may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior _____, shall hold their _____ during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be _____ during their continuance in _____."

2. On a separate sheet of paper, write the letters representing each of the following cases and beside these letters write the word *Federal* or *State* to indicate the court in which each case would be tried.

(a) Dispute between North Carolina and South Carolina over a boundary line.

(b) A burglar is caught breaking into a grocery store in your community.

(c) A burglar breaks into the post office.
(d) A man makes and circulates a counterfeit dollar.
(e) Theft occurs on an ocean liner.
(f) A dispute arises between a merchant of your community and a corporation in another state over a large bill of goods purchased from the corporation.
(g) A cow escapes from a pasture and destroys part of a garden. The owner of the garden tries to collect five dollars for damages.

3. Name the two kinds of criminal cases.
4. List in the order of their importance the names of the three highest federal courts.
5. List the three types of legislative power which courts have.

Suggested Activities

1. In each of these cases the proposed law is unconstitutional. Cite the provisions of the Constitution which would help you to decide if you were a judge.
   (a) A law is passed forbidding women to vote.
   (b) A law is passed providing that train robbers may be tortured until they reveal th names of all the members of their gang.
   (c) A tax is imposed on wheat brought into one state from another.
2. Name the eight types of cases which come under the jurisdiction of United States courts. Look these up in Article III, Section II, Clause 1 of the Constitution.
3. Find out the number of the Federal Circuit Court District which includes your state. Refer to the Civic Compendium in the back of the book.
4. Choose sides and debate this question: Resolved, That the judges of the state courts should hold their office during good behavior.

CHAPTER XIV

CHANGING IDEAS IN GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

competitor, 197.
public-service utilities, 198.
civil service, 198.
patronage, 198.
civil service commission, 199.
merit system, 199.
direct primary, 200.
recall, 200.
impeachment, 200.
referendum, 200.
initiative, 201.
direct legislation, 201.
city manager, 201.
boards and commissions, 201.
short ballot, 202.

Intelligent reading of this chapter requires an understanding of these words as they are used on the pages indicated. Write a sentence using each.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Find out why changes in business and social conditions require new methods and institutions in government.
2. Find out what determines the success of political reforms.

Changes Caused by Inventions. In the last half of the nineteenth century great changes took place in the business world. These changes were brought about largely by inventions and the application of steam, electricity, and power-driven machinery to the work of the world.

In the early part of the century canals and rivers had been the principal routes of transportation, but by the middle of the century railroads had become strong competitors of the steamboats. Later in the century businessmen secured government aid and built thousands of miles of new railroads. Before

1885 four lines across the continent had been completed and the railroad had become a necessity.

But railroads no longer have a monopoly on the carrying trade of the country. During the first third of the twentieth century the states, aided by the national government, built thousands of miles of hard-surfaced highways. As a result passenger automobiles and motor-driven trucks have become serious competitors of the railroads. In addition air transportation has been developed, and regular schedules are now maintained throughout all the principal countries of the world and even across the ocean.

The development in communication has kept pace with the rapid advance in transportation. The invention and improvement of the telegraph, telephone, and radio have now placed every important part of the world in instant communication with every other important part.

Utilizing the new methods of transportation and communication, great corporations in all lines of endeavor extended their business until it touched nearly every civilized people of the world. In the course of time huge business undertakings were combined under one strong management. Application of electricity to lighting, heating, transportation, and power made possible the rapid growth of cities, which naturally became the seat of great business activities. It was natural that the accumulation of wealth and power, as well as the problems of rapid growth, soon began to affect government.

Abuses in Government. The building of great railroads, the development of large cities, and the growth of powerful public-service utilities greatly increased the opportunity and temptation for personal gain at the expense of the public. Cities, counties, and states sometimes granted long-term franchises or conferred special privileges upon private corporations without adequate remuneration or proper safeguards for the public interest. Money of investors was often misused by those in power. Political machines were built up in many of our large cities. Dishonest officials both in government and in industry grew wealthy and powerful.

When they realized conditions, interested citizens became alarmed for the safety of America. They knew that honesty in government is essential to the safety of a democracy and that representative government can not survive if elected officials are responsible to some political boss or powerful business executive. As a result reforms were demanded, and many of the strong alliances between dishonest businessmen and corrupt officeholders were broken down.

Civil Service Reform. In reply to a strong demand for reform Congress in 1871 provided for a Civil Service Commission. President Grant made an earnest effort to put the law into operation, but the members of Congress whose patronage was threatened refused to vote an appropriation. President Hayes also did all in his power to establish the system, but again Congress refused to provide appropriations.

The assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker made Congress realize the necessity of reform, and it passed a strong, elastic Civil Service Act. A Civil Service Commission was created and given power to make rules for carrying on the work. Although the instrument was provided, the change from the spoils to the merit system had to be made gradually. Theodore Roosevelt, chairman of the Commission in 1889, did more than anyone else to extend the merit system.

Under the civil service plan the Civil Service Commission holds examinations. Applicants desiring appointments take these examinations and are rated according to their standing in the tests. When a vacancy occurs, the official having the power to appoint calls upon the Commission for qualified applicants. By law he must appoint one of the three highest candidates on the list for that branch of the service.

This experiment has been so successful that the platforms of both major political parties today advocate its extension. The advantages of a spoils system to the political boss are so great, however, that either complete observance or an extension of the merit system is difficult to secure. Nevertheless, several forward-looking states and a number of cities have adopted the merit system and have relieved executives of the difficult task of making thousands of appointments at regular intervals of two or four years. The loss of direct control in appointments was a blow to the power of the political boss.

The Direct Primary. Unfortunately the merit system could not reach elective officials. Since 1830 political parties have made use of representative conventions for nominating candidates. Log-rolling, bribery, and corruption soon became closely associated with the convention system of nominations. As a reform measure, the direct primary procedure for nominating candidates was soon advocated. About the beginning of the present century the states began regulating political parties. As a result many states now require all parties to use the direct primary in nominating candidates for office.

The Recall. The recall is the plan of holding a special election upon petition of the voters (usually twenty-five per cent) for the purpose of recalling an official. Although a number of states have such laws, they are seldom used. If an official has been guilty of misconduct in office, impeachment is a much cheaper method of removal than holding a special recall election.

The Referendum. Referendum means referring a proposed law to the people for their approval. Since 1874 the referendum has been widely used in making and amending constitutions. Since the beginning of the present century it has also been used by some states in making ordinary laws.

The Initiative. The process of proposing a law by petition is known as the initiative. There are two kinds of initiative: one in which a proposed law must be acted upon by the state legislature, the other in

which the proposed law is submitted to a vote of the people by referendum. The second plan is used more than the first and is frequently called the initiative and referendum because both must be used if the proposal is to become law. Probably half of the states now provide for such direct legislation.

The Commission Form of Government. A political experiment, once popular in cities, is the commission form of government. Under this plan city voters elect a small commission which is given complete powers of government. Sometimes the commission hires a trained city manager to carry out the executive duties. In such cases the type of government is known as the city-manager plan. Some cities have been well-governed by their city managers.

The commission form of government has produced widely-varying results in different cities where it has been applied. Consequently, its value as a type of government is still difficult to judge fairly.

Board and Commissions. Under modern conditions state and national governments are gradually taking over more and more of the work of society. When a government takes over some new work, it must provide an agency, usually a board or comission, to do that work. In the past thirty or forty years a great many of these agencies have been created. Since their duties sometimes overlap, consolidations that will reduce governmental expense may be made. But often consolidation is impractical and likely to be expensive and inefficient.

The Short Ballot. The short ballot is a plan to elect only a few officials and to give them power to appoint all other necessary officers. Certainly people can vote more intelligently for only a few candidates than for a large number. The short ballot, however, has made but little progress in state government. It has been used in our national government from the very beginning with marked success.

Government Control of Business and Industry. In the later part of the nineteenth century the government made efforts to prevent the dishonest practices of big business. In 1887 Congress created the Interstate Commerce Commission. The states created public-service commissions to control public-service corporations operating within the states. Both the national and state governments enacted pure food laws. Congress enacted laws prohibiting combinations which resulted in restraint of trade. Conditions during and following the World War led to many new and far-reaching experiments in the reform of business practices. The national government set up definite requirements concerning prices, hours, wages, and conditions of labor. The government also established more extensive supervision of banking and the marketing of securities.

In 1929 during the Hoover administration special legislation was enacted to aid agriculture. Congress created a Farm Board with $500,000,000 for use in stabilizing farm prices and aiding the farmer in marketing his products.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation. In the fall of 1929 the national depression became so serious that thousands of banks and other large business corporations, like railroad and insurance companies, faced failure. Most of these big corporations were perfectly sound but were temporarily unable to turn property into cash because there was no ready market available.

At the earnest recommendation of President Hoover, Congress created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and appropriated $500,000,000 for its use. The R.F.C., as it was called, was given authority to borrow on the credit of the United States government and to lend money to certain corporations. The Roosevelt administration not only continued the R.F.C. but also drastically enlarged its powers. Since its creation, it has loaned more than $6,000,000,000 and has collected more than $2,000,000,000 of its loans.

The New Deal. Emergencies always bring about the use of greater powers and new experiments in government. Upon taking office in the midst of the depression in March, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, acting upon the advice of numerous experts in various fields, launched an ambitious program which he called the "New Deal." It was simply a series of laws intended to end the depression. Speaking of one of the many laws passed, President Roosevelt declared very frankly that it was an experiment in government.

The National Recovery Act (N.R.A.). One of the most important acts in the New Deal legislation created the powerful National Recovery Administration, or N.R.A. This Act gave the President the power to establish codes (meaning rules or laws) of fair competition for all the major industries of the United States. In actual practice these codes were made by the leaders of the industries and approved by the President. Upon approval a code became law and could be enforced by both fines and imprisonment for violation.

About seven hundred industries formed codes. A blue eagle was adopted as an official symbol for the organizations accepting the code. Under these codes wages were maintained or raised, hours reduced, and in some cases minimum prices established. Regardless of the opposition of individual members, the code approved by the President was binding on all members of an industry. Naturally there was much criticism of the code provisions and consequently many violations of the codes. Finally a case was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States to test the law providing for the codes. The Supreme Court held that the law was unconstitutional and immediately ended its operation.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Another important part of the New Deal legislation was the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, or the A.A.A. The Act was intended to restore to pre-war levels the prices of the most important agricultural

products. The government contracted to pay the farmer for the use of a part of his land which he agreed not to cultivate. It was believed that this would reduce the amount of the crop raised, cause a scarcity, and probably result in higher prices.

Thus the wheat growers cut their crops twenty per cent below the previous five-year average and were paid cash for the wheat they did not raise. The money came from a tax on the millers who ground (processed) the wheat.

In a similar way, processors in cotton and other important farm crops were also taxed. Altogether the processing taxes produced nearly $1,000,000,000. Of course, the taxes themselves were passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices of manufactured commodities. Finally some processors refused to pay the tax, and the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States. The Court declared the law unconstitutional. The President then requested Congress to pass a law providing for soil conservation by paying the farmer for conserving his soil. These payments required additional funds, which were secured from a general tax law which Congress passed in June, 1936.

The Money and Banking Acts. An important part of the New Deal legislation related to money and banks. In all, twelve separate acts of Congress were directly concerned with money and banking. One permitted the President to call in the gold in the country. Another enabled him to reduce by forty

or fifty per cent the amount of gold in a dollar. Another guaranteed all bank deposits up to $5,000. Still other acts amended the Federal Reserve Banking Laws and gave the national government greater power in controlling the banks of the country.

The Securities Acts. The Securities Acts, one passed by Congress in 1933 and the other in 1934, were intended to protect the investor in stocks, bonds, and other securities. These acts gave the national government large power to investigate and regulate stock exchanges and also corporations offering stock for sale.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.). The Act which created the C.C.C. was a definite part of the relief plans of the New Deal. From 300,000 to 600,000 young men were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed and placed in camps. These men were employed in soil erosion labor, fire fighting, forest conservation, and other work of public value. The men were fed, clothed, and sheltered in camps, much as the soldiers are cared for. In addition each man received a small monthly payment from which he was encouraged to contribute regular amounts to his own family. As a result, during the first year the C.C.C. was in operation, approximately $212,000,000 were sent home.

Relief and Re-employment. An important part of the New Deal plans was re-employment and direct relief to those in want. This work, although directly done through the states, was placed under various

national administrative agencies, such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (F.E.R.A.), the Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.), and the Public Works Administration (P.W.A.). The more permanent public works were centralized under the P.W.A. This agency has carried out major building projects in all parts of our country.

In addition to the above agencies for re-employment of idle workers, direct relief when found necessary was furnished to the states by the Federal Relief Administrator.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.). At the request of the President, Congress created the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.) as an agency for the generation and sale of electric power as well as for building dams, power plants, and transmission lines. In addition to providing for the above functions, the Act enabled the President to adopt a program of social and economic planning to promote the welfare of the people of the Tennessee Valley. The T.V.A., the creation of which stirred up considerable opposition, was frankly an experiment.

Other New Deal Legislation. Many other separate acts were passed by Congress as a part of the New Deal program. Among the numerous acts are the Farmer's Bankruptcy Act of 1934, the Municipal Bankruptcy Act of 1934, the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933, and the Home Owner's Loan Act of 1933 and 1934. Some of them represent striking departures in national legislation.

Some six or eight New Deal acts or parts of acts have already been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. In at least two cases New Deal acts have been sustained by the Supreme Court. Doubtless in time other cases will be tested before the same court. The principles and practices of the New Deal were the most outstanding issues in the hard-fought Presidential campaign of 1936. Regardless of the immediate outcome, certain of the New Deal measures have been so firmly entrenched that they will continue to affect American citizens for many generations in the future.

Unsolved Problems in the United States. So long as Americans continue to be an active and forward-looking people, we shall have to face great problems in government.

Persons who resist change are called conservatives. Progressives wish to move more rapidly. Individuals who desire sudden change are often termed radicals. Those who believe that the future can never be better than the past are sometimes called "old fogies" or "mossbacks." Most of the constructive work of the world is done by the conservatives and the progressives. Usually when new plans of government are proposed, it is not best to be too radical, nor it is wise to insist that new methods in government are never safe. The safe procedure is expressed in the axiom: "Be not the first by whom the new is tried nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Remember that honesty in government is necessary to assure the permanence of representative government.

2. Note that government must make changes to meet new conditions as they arise.

3. Observe that many problems of government are yet unsolved.

Test Exercises

Match items in the first list with corresponding items in the second list by putting together on a slip of paper the numbers of the two items which make a true statement.

1. The Civil Service reform	1. was introduced to improve city government.
2. The direct primary	2. reduces the number of elected officers.
3. The short ballot	3. takes away some of the power of the legislature.
4. The recall	4. attempted to get rid of the "spoils system."
5. The referendum	5. gives the people power to dismiss an elected official.
6. The initiative	6. gives the voters a voice in nominating candidates for office.
7. The commission form of government	7. is the process of referring a law to the people for their approval.

Suggested Activities

1. Write a short paragraph on the advantages of the short ballot.

2. Examine the newspapers and clip as many articles as you find which deal with unsolved problems of government.

3. Find which of these officers are under the Civil Service.

(a) Congressmen
(b) Mail carriers
(c) Postmasters
(d) Army captains

4. Appoint three speakers on each side to debate one of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, That the recall should be adopted by all state governments.

(b) Resolved, That the people should have the right to initiate laws.

PART THREE

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT AND HOW WE ARE MEETING THEM

CHAPTER XV

GOVERNMENT AND MONEY

Do You Know These Terms?

state bank, 215.
national bank, 215.
federal reserve bank, 215.
clearing house, 217.
"wildcat banking," 220.
feudalism, 221.
toll, 224.
excise, 233.
fees, 230.
income tax, 231.
customs duties, 231.
direct tax, 231.
inheritance tax, 232.
corporation tax, 232.
poll tax, 232.

Successful business demands the correct use of words. Study these terms relating to money until you can use them correctly.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Learn how it has come about that most of the business of our country is done on credit.
2. Be sure that you understand the purposes for which the government needs to raise money.

How Money Came Into Use. The use of money as a medium of exchange was common even among ancient peoples. Before the invention of money, all exchange of goods was accomplished by barter or trade. Soon some well known, desirable article became a standard of value. The cow was frequently

used among early peoples as such a standard. The amount of grain, the number of sheep, or manufactured articles of value equal to a cow became common knowledge in the community. Later the value of some metal which was comparatively scarce became established. The cow could not be carried around and traded for other articles, but a lump of the metal equal in value to the cow could be substituted. Metal had large value in small bulk and could be easily divided without loss into lumps one-half or one-fourth the value of a cow. It was thus convenient to use in making exchange of goods. Rings and bars equal in value to a cow became common. Weighing the metal to make sure that the pieces were full size became necessary; traders carried scales to weigh metal used in making exchange for goods. The next step was stamping the lump of metal by some one in whom the people had confidence, usually the king.

A people known as Lydians, who lived in Asia Minor, are thought to have been the first to coin money. The practice of coining money spread to the Greeks and Romans and has continued since.

The Value of Money. The value of a given piece of money depends upon the value of the material of which it is made, upon the confidence of the people in the government issuing the money, and upon the amount of goods it will buy. Gold has usually been used as a standard for money because gold is valuable and changes only slightly in value

over long periods of time. A dollar is more valuable at a time when it will buy five pounds of meat than at a time when it will buy only three pounds of the same kind and grade of meat.

The Uses of Money. 1. Money is used as a medium of exchange. We are all familiar with this use. If we have money we can exchange it for clothing, food, books, a trip to Europe, or almost anything we desire.

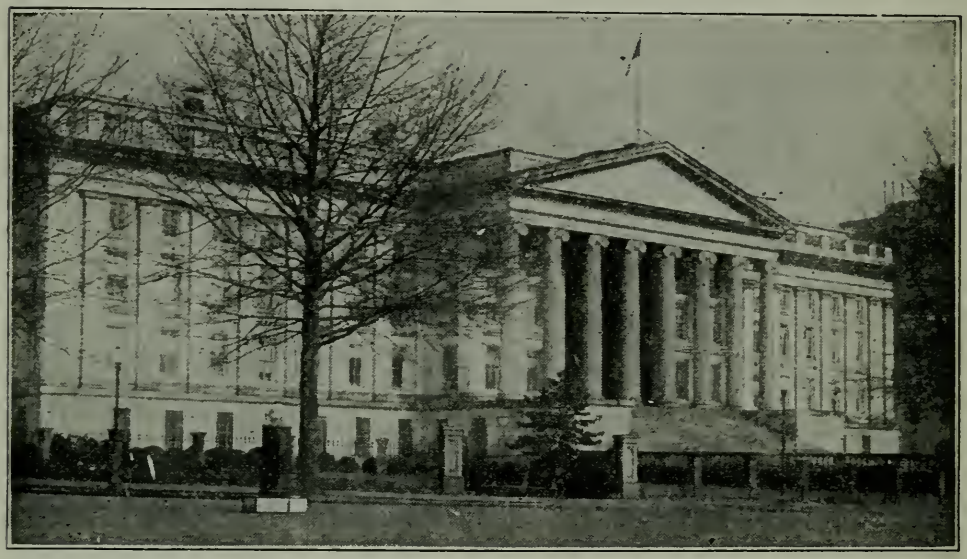
2. Money is used as a standard of deferred payments. A man without money needs a suit of clothes and agrees to pay a certain amount of money for it in six months. In this way he is using money not as a medium of exchange, but as a standard of deferred payment. All saving and borrowing, as well as our entire banking system depend upon this use of money.

3. Money is used as a standard of comparison. Suppose a boy wants a bicycle and a baseball. He learns the price of each, compares the two desires in terms of dollars, and makes his decision. A man receives a salary of $200.00 a month. If he spends wisely, he compares things he may secure for himself and family in terms of dollars. He can rent one house for $55.00 or a better one for $65.00. The costs of clothing, fuel, groceries, and other articles are compared and a list of items for which he will spend the $200.00 is made out. He has used money as a standard of comparison. The list he

has made out showing his income and the items he has decided to buy is sometimes called a budget.

Standard Money. Gold and silver each have many of the qualities of good money. Gold has much greater value in the same weight, but both metals have been extensively used for money. Their market value changes with supply and demand. In 1792 our government made both silver and gold standard money and fixed a ratio of value between them by law. There was just fifteen times as much silver as gold in a dollar. This was called a legal ratio of 15 to 1. The value of one grain of gold was a little more than the value of fifteen grains of silver; for this reason people did not have gold coined and there was little in circulation. In 1834 Congress changed the ratio from 15 to 1, to 16 to 1. But sixteen grains of silver was worth more on the market than one grain of gold, and silver was sold as bullion instead of being coined. Gold then came into circulation and there was little or no silver money. The United States government had since Washington's time coined both silver and gold at its mints making only sufficient charge to pay the expense of the work. Anyone could take all the silver or gold he had to the mint and have it made into money. In 1873 Congress prohibited the coinage of silver on these terms but gold was coined as before. That act had the effect of making gold the only standard money. Finally in 1900 a law

was passed making gold the standard money in the United States. In 1933 gold coins were withdrawn from circulation, and all types of money issued by the government were made legal tender, which means that they were legal in the payment of debts.



National Treasury Building. In this building are the offices of the Treasury Department which is under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Kinds of Money. There are now eight kinds of money in circulation in the United States. All of them are on an equality because the people have confidence in the government. The different kinds of money are: silver dollars, minor coins, silver certificates, treasury notes, Federal Reserve notes, Federal Reserve Bank notes, United States notes, and national bank notes. All

of these kinds of money are accepted in the payment of debts and in the purchase of goods.

Credit. The use of money as a standard of deferred payment gives rise to credit. The merchant sells goods and charges the purchase price on his customer's account. A farmer sells his farm and accepts a promissory note for a part of the purchase price. A trader buys a farmer's hogs and writes a check to pay for them. A banker writes a draft for his customer who desires to pay for goods bought in a distant city. A merchant buys a bill of exchange to pay an account in a foreign country. All of these transactions make use of credit, and the forms used are called instruments. Accounts, notes, checks, and drafts are used in credit business. The use of credit multiplies at least fourfold the work money is able to do.

Our Banking System. Banks are institutions organized under the law and deal in money and credit. There are three kinds of banks in the United States:

1. State banks which are organized under state law and receive deposits and lend money.

2. National banks which are organized under United States law and in addition to receiving and lending money are permitted to issue national bank notes which circulate as money.

3. Federal Reserve banks issue paper money and do a banking business with other banks.

The Use of Bank Credit as Money. To under-

stand the use of bank credit as money it is necessary to study banking transactions. Suppose a number of persons decide to enter the banking business. They organize under the laws of the state or the United States as they choose and each puts a certain amount of his own money into the business. This forms the "capital" of the bank. They receive "deposits" and make "loans." People deposit their money in the bank; are given a check book; and can draw checks against their bank account at any time.

If you deposit $1,000.00, the banker takes your money and gives you credit for $1,000.00. A few days later you make a purchase from Mr. Smith and give him a check for $500.00. Smith takes the check to the bank but instead of taking the money he takes credit. The banker simply subtracts $500.00 from your account and adds the same amount to Smith's account. Smith buys a suit of clothes for $50.00, pays a hardware bill of $100.00 and a doctor bill of $100.00. The merchants and the doctor have accounts at the bank. They deposit Smith's checks and the banker "credits" their accounts and "debits" Smith's account, still keeping the money in the bank. Smith decides to buy a farm. He needs more money than he has in the bank. He makes the bank a note for $2,000.00, but instead of taking the money he has the $2,000.00 added to his account. He buys the farm from Jones and writes a check for $5,000.00. Jones has an ac-

count at the bank and deposits the check. The bank credits Jones' account with $5,000.00, debits Smith's account, and keeps the money on deposit. All these purchases are made and debts paid by the use of credit. No money changes hands, and Smith is paying the bank interest on $2,000.00.

Records show that under normal conditions about $90.00 of each $100.00 checked out is redeposited. Bankers learned that they could lend three-fourths of all the money deposited with them and have sufficient money on hand to meet all demands for cash. Thus if deposits amounted to $400,000 a bank could safely put $300,000 out on interest provided it was sure that those who borrowed would be able to repay the money. The extent to which credit is used instead of money in transacting the business of the country may be seen by comparing the bank deposits with the actual money in circulation. The total of bank deposits in the United States in 1935 was $38,237,846,000, but there were only $5,568,099,785 in circulation all in silver and various kinds of paper money. In 1935 the United States Treasury held in its possession gold and silver to the amount of $7,287,470,692.

The Clearing House. Bankers cash checks on other banks just as they cash checks on their own, but instead of keeping a separate account with every other bank, each has an account with a clearing house. This is an institution which keeps accounts with banks in much the same way that

banks keep accounts with individuals. At closing time every day each bank sends to the clearing house all checks received on other banks. The clearing house balances all accounts and the balances only are paid in cash. In 1927 bank clearings in the United States were approximately $673,867,000,000; in 1934 they were $261,364,859,877.

State Banks. In our early history a great part of the banking business of the country was done by state banks. These were allowed to issue paper money under such regulations as the state law provided. In some of the states the banking laws were strict and the banks were compelled to have sufficient capital to redeem the money issued, but in many states and territories the laws allowed the issue of money by banks without proper safeguards and many issued more money than they could redeem. If they failed, people who held their paper money were the losers. There were so many of these state banks issuing paper money that no one could know with any certainty the value of the money in circulation. During the Civil War Congress placed a tax upon all money issued by state banks and they ceased to issue it. Their business is now limited to receiving deposits and lending money. In 1928 deposits in state banks amounted to $13,356,877,000; in 1934, to $5,876,000,000.

Banking Under United States Law. The first bank established under national law was the United States bank proposed by Hamilton in 1791. Its char-

ter was for twenty years. In 1811 Congress failed to renew the charter and the bank ceased to exist. In 1816 a second United States bank was established and did a successful banking business for twenty years but President Jackson vetoed the bill renewing its charter. From 1836 until 1862 there were no banks under national law. In 1863 the national bank law was passed and national banks were organized in all parts of the United States. This law required the bank to deposit within the United States treasury sufficient government bonds to redeem all currency issued by the bank. This makes national bank notes as good as gold. The national banks are today doing the greater part of the banking business of the country. In 1928 deposits were $22,639,337,000; in 1935, $22,581,246,000.

Federal Reserve Banks. The latest development in our banking system is the federal reserve bank. The United States is divided into twelve districts and there is one federal reserve bank in each district. The federal reserve banks do not do banking business with individuals. They receive deposits and make loans to the member banks only.

Power of Congress to Control Money. The Constitution of the United States (see page 338) gives Congress full power over money and credit. Under the authority conferred under these clauses all the laws have been passed which have given us the wonderful monetary system we now enjoy. Our sound financial system has much to do with our

general prosperity and is one of the most important ways in which our government has been able to serve the people. Few of those now living in the United States can remember the time when there was any difference in the purchasing power of gold and paper money, and fewer still have any recollection of the days of "wildcat banking" before the Civil War. We accept the benefits of a sound currency much as we do the air we breathe without realizing how important it is to our happiness and well-being. All private and public business and expenditure depend directly upon our financial system.

Growth of Public Expenditure. Public expenditure has grown very rapidly especially since the Civil War. Population has increased rapidly, wealth more rapidly than population, and public expenditure more rapidly than wealth. The last grows because every unit of our government (national, state, and local) is constantly undertaking new work on an ever-increasing scale. Lighting our cities with electricity is an example of a new work of government which requires large expenditure; expansion of public education furnishes one of the best examples of our government's doing an old work on a constantly increasing scale. The figures indicating increase in public expenditures are so large that they become alarming when stated in round sums; and the political party out of power frequently uses these without giving detailed facts to make

people believe that officials are extravagant or corrupt. A little thought will show that it is not the amount but the wisdom of an expenditure that determines whether it is good or bad. A small amount expended upon a highway may have to be repeated with every recurring rain and would, therefore, be foolish while use of a larger sum to make the improvement permanent would be wise spending of the people's money. The wisdom of an expenditure should be determined first and only sufficient money raised to produce the greatest public good for the money expended. The practice of levying taxes first and determining expenditures by the amount of money raised is very foolish public finance and leads to waste.

Public Expenditure. During the Middle Ages the people of Europe had a peculiar kind of government called feudalism. Government officials had possession of the land and from its proceeds met both government and private expenses. There was no separation between the private expenses of the rulers and the public expenses of the government, although much of the revenue was to be raised by taxation. Constitutional government had its beginnings in the efforts which people made to limit the expenditure of the king; it advanced in proportion to its success in getting control of the public purse. Soon there came the separation of the public money from the private money of the ruler. With the final establishment of representative gov-

ernment there came a new standard for judging public expenditure. Formerly the spending of public money seemed to be justified when it satisfied the whim of a ruler; now it must be for the good of the people as a whole. Private expenditure depends upon the amount of money the individual is able to raise as well as upon the wisdom of the expenditure; but public expenditure in all ordinary cases depends entirely upon the wisdom of the expenditure, because the state raises its money by taxation and can always raise as much money as the people believe it is spending wisely and no more.

Public expenditures may be divided into two classes:

1. Those which confer a common benefit on all citizens.

2. Those which confer a special benefit upon a person or class of people as well as a common benefit to all.

Per capita public expenditure increases with the increase of population. Large cities spend more per person than small cities, and small cities spend more per person than rural districts. This is because more densely populated centers have greater opportunity to spend wisely for the good of all than do thinly populated districts. Democracies have constantly increased their governmental activities and the growth of these is naturally accompanied by an increase of public expenditure. The

great problem is not to lower taxes but to secure honest, efficient expenditure of every dollar raised by taxation in some worth-while work that we cannot do better through private effort.

Expenditure for the Common Good. Our government incurs much expense for service that is considered to be for the common good. There is no specific charge for this service made upon any person. This class of expenditure may be better understood by indicating some of its divisions.

1. *Administrative Expenditure.* The salary and official expenses of the President of the United States and of hundreds of thousands of other officials engaged in the work of the United States government as well as similar expenses in all the state and local governments may be classed as administrative expenditure.

2. *Legislative Expenses.* The expense of Congress, including salaries of members, money expended for clerks, postage, printing, and incidental expenses of state legislature may be classed as legislative expenses.

3. *Public Buildings.* Buildings are necessary for the use of our government officials. The construction and maintenance of these requires a large expenditure of public money. Sometimes public buildings have been erected where they were not needed and there have been many stories of graft and corruption in connection with the construction of others which were needed. These practices are abuses,

however, which an intelligent democracy will prevent. Public buildings must be always a necessary and rather large item of expenditure for the common good.

4. *Defense.* The cost of defense forms the largest item of national expenditures. This includes the charges which are the result of past wars and provisions for possible future wars. The Great War left the country with a very large debt. The total appropriation made by Congress in 1920 was apportioned as follows:

(a) Three per cent for general governmental expenses;

(b) Three per cent for public work;

(c) One per cent for research, education. and development;

(d) Ninety-three per cent for obligations arising from war and preparation for future wars. This large proportion of expenditure for war purposes will doubtless be made less but it can hardly be less than seventy-five per cent for many years unless means can be found to reduce the expense of preparation for future wars: debts already incurred must be paid.

5. *Roads.* The expenditure for roads was at one time considered a special benefit; those who used them were required to pay for their construction and maintenance by tolls. But at the present time good roads are considered a common benefit and are constructed and maintained by our government.

In recent years national, state, and local governments all contribute for this purpose. There is probably no money spent which brings a greater or quicker return in producing better living conditions than that which is used for roads. The automobile and good roads are rapidly bringing the advantages of city life to rural districts.

6. *Education.* Expenditure for education is of first importance. The very existence of the nation depends upon the intelligence of its citizens. For that reason education is a common benefit and should be paid for from public funds. Education furnishes one of the best examples of rapid expansion of public expenditure. Fifty years ago the state furnished elementary education only and that to but a portion of the people. Higher education was considered a special benefit to be paid for by the individual. Today people generally believe that every boy and girl should have the opportunity of obtaining a four-year high school education at public expense; even college and university education is largely paid for with public funds.

Expenditure for the Common Good Which Benefits Certain Individuals. There are certain kinds of public expenditure necessary for the public good but of special benefit to certain persons or classes. Some of these expenditures are for pensions, workingmen's compensation, care of handicapped and of criminal persons, maintenance of hospitals and homes for the poor, and relief of the unemployed.

In all such cases the individual receives direct advantage but the common benefit is considered sufficient to justify public expense. To illustrate, it is dangerous to community welfare to allow the insane their liberty. Therefore, they are cared for in public institutions.

There is another class of expenditures in which the government shares, fees being paid by the person receiving direct benefit. The courts and the post office department are two prominent cases in which the cost of service is divided between the government and the person benefited.

National, State, and Local Expenses. The total of public expenditure including all national, state, and local governments is so large that we can hardly understand the meaning of the figures. Expenditure for defense and wars falls almost entirely upon the national government; for education upon the state and local (city and county) governments, and other expenditures such as administrative, legislative, and building costs are common to all divisions. If the costs of defense and war are excluded, it is possible to compare the ordinary expenditure of the divisions of our government. In 1932 the cost of operating the governments of the various divisions was as follows:

The National government	$3,906,556,000
State governments	2,505,835,000
County governments	1,411,826,000
City governments (pop. 2500 and over)	3,449,561,000

All governmental expenses have been increased since 1918 and the huge cost of the Great War has caused a burden of debt in the form of United States bonds or promises to pay.

The enormous expenditure of money necessary in carrying on government activities creates great possibilities for waste. The present practice in determining the nature and amount of public expenditure is not as scientific and systematic as it should be. We have placed control of the public purse in the hands of the law-making branch of the government and given the lower house special responsibility in raising and apportioning public funds. Unfortunately there has developed among the membership of legislative bodies the idea that it is the duty of representatives to secure expenditure of some of the public funds at home. Too often a legislator is estimated among the people he represents by his ability to secure the appropriation of public money to be spent in the district. Thus his larger responsibility as a lawmaker for state or nation as a whole becomes a secondary consideration. The people from a certain Congressional district desire some improvement in the way of highways, new post offices, or something else that would come from the public treasury, and they expect their representative to obtain the necessary appropriation for it. Members of Congress co-operate with one another in securing these appropriations for their own districts. An appropriation bill is not intro-

duced until those introducing it are sure that it carries appropriations to interest enough members to insure its passage. The evils of such methods are found in many fields of public expenditure; the question becomes not how much money is needed for the public good, but how much can be secured for the home district.

Lawmakers have been severely condemned for these practices but they cannot rise very far above the ideals of the people whom they represent. The remedy is not to be found in condemning individual legislators but in education of the citizenship of the country until a better system of public expenditure is demanded.

The Budget System. The abuse of appropriations for public expenditure reached its highest mark some years ago in city governments. Reform of city business became a necessity. Students of public finance proposed a plan known as the budget system. The essentials of the budget plan are:

1. Some person or persons who have authority to investigate the needs of all departments, institutions, commissions, or boards which spend public money, make an itemized list of these needs; and combine the totals into one large sum which will include all expenditures of the government for which the budget is made.

2. A complete itemized statement of the receipts and expenditures for the preceding period is made.

3. Recommendations are made for changes in

expenditure and revenue and for the taxes that should be levied.

The rapidly increasing expenditure in national, state, and city government has caused strong demand for the introduction of the budget system. As the greatest abuses in spending public money developed in city government, so the first progress in reform in public expenditures came in cities. Better methods of accounting and provisions for budgets are contained in charters adopted in recent years and most cities which have the manager or commission form of government have a budget system. More than half of the states have adopted plans for more efficient estimating and recording of expenses. Much progress has recently been made by the national government in the direction of budget legislation.

The Goal in Public Expenditure. Every dollar collected from the people by taxation should be spent for a definite object that has been determined to be essential to the public good. As nearly as possible the exact amount of money required for meeting necessary expenses of government most efficiently should be determined. Equitable taxes sufficient to raise the needed amount of money and no more should be levied. Finally, when the money is collected it should be expended for the purpose for which it was collected. Not until every dollar is spent for the public purpose for which it was collected can the goal of public expenditure be reached.

How Our Government Raises Money. Our government may obtain money through sale of property, gifts, by fines and penalties, by borrowing, or by taxation. At one time the sale of public land brought large sums of money into the United States treasury, but at the present time sales are not an important source of revenue. Gifts are usually made for a specific purpose and the government is simply the agent to provide for proper expenditure. Fines and penalties amount to considerable sums but cannot be counted on as a constant source of revenue. Borrowing by means of bond issues is the quickest way to obtain money. But this plan can be justified only in case of an emergency such as war or public work or improvements which will benefit a future generation who may be expected to pay the debt. Borrowing should not be utilized as an ordinary source of revenue. It may thus be seen that taxation must be the chief means of securing money to pay government expenses.

1. *Fees.* Some government work is paid for in part by fees, that is, compulsory payment for an official act. Recording deeds, issuing marriage licenses, and administering the estate of deceased persons are illustrations. Pavements and sewers are usually paid for by special assessments levied upon the property benefited.

2. *Rates.* Postal and parcel post rates are charged in proportion to the service rendered. Fees and rates and other charges do not produce a suffi-

cient amount of money to pay the expenses of any unit of our government; all must depend upon taxes for support.

3. *Taxes.* Taxes are compulsory contributions levied to pay the expenses of government. They are justified by the fact that the government protects life and property and confers benefit upon all.

The Problem of Taxation. All taxes may be classed as direct or indirect. The property tax, income tax, and inheritance taxes are direct. Customs duties and excises are indirect taxes. The amount of a customs tax is added to the price of the goods when sold.

1. *The General Property Tax* is used in nearly all states for local and state purposes. Levying and collecting the general property tax is an expensive process. An assessor makes a tax list for each taxpayer. This list should be a complete statement of all his property together with its estimated value. Dissatisfied taxpayers who believe their property is assessed at too high a value may appeal to a board of equalization. The city, township, school district, county, and state determine the rate necessary to carry on the work of these units of government. These rates are used in calculating the amount of tax each person must pay. In case too much tax has been assessed upon a county, its officials may appeal to a state board of equalization for a reduction in valuation.

2. *Income Tax* is a contribution of a per cent of

a person's net money receipts during a specified period of time, usually a year. It is considered one of the most equitable taxes because it falls upon those best able to pay. It is used by the United States government and in recent years has been adopted by many state governments.

3. *An Inheritance Tax* is levied upon property at the death of the owner and paid by the heirs receiving the estate. It is usually heavier upon large estates and upon property willed to distant relatives. Inheritance taxes are now widely used in the United States, and are important sources of revenue. They are easily paid because inheritances are like a gift. The justification for the tax rests upon the theory that all property naturally reverts to the state upon the death of the individual and inheritance is a privilege granted by the state to encourage thrift, which may be limited for the common good at any time.

4. *Corporation Taxes.* Corporations which enjoy special privileges conferred by the state are required to pay a reasonable equivalent in taxes.

5. *The Sales Tax* is a tax levied on sales of various kinds. A tax on each gallon of gasoline sold is an example. Recently several states have enacted a general sales tax. This may take several forms, but it is usually a small percentage of the amount of sales of all kinds.

Taxation by the United States. The United States

government has usually depended for its revenue upon indirect taxes. Alexander Hamilton in organizing the finances of the government proposed import duties and excise taxes for raising revenue. These two types of taxes have been the main dependence of the government in the past, but recently the income tax has become important. Import duties have been used almost continuously since the days of Hamilton. They have produced revenues, and have also been used to protect the various industries of the country. For many years the question of whether the tariff should be used for revenue only or whether it should be so levied that it would protect the industries of the country as well as raise a revenue, has been an issue between the two great political parties.

Excise or internal revenue taxes are also used by the federal government. Such taxes upon alcoholic liquors and tobacco have been a large source of income since the Civil War. During the time the Eighteenth Amendment was in force the amount of revenue derived from this source was greatly reduced. The decline of imports due to the World War reduced the revenue from the tariff, but the deficiency was mostly made up by the income tax and the sales tax.

War Increases the National Debt. When the United States entered the World War our national debt was about $1,208,000,000, or $11.33 per capita.

More than half of it bore interest at the low rate of two per cent, and the bonds sold at a premium. The annual revenue collected for the last fiscal year before we entered the war, ending June 30, 1916, was $779,664,552. The United States entered the war April 6, 1917. New tax laws were enacted. The income tax was increased, corporation taxes were levied, excise taxes were placed upon many articles, and a new tax known as a war profit or excess profit tax was provided for with the hope of compelling the war profiteer to contribute heavily to the government's needs. The total revenue collected between April 6, 1917, and October 31, 1919, reached the enormous sum of $11,280,000,000. The total war expenditure during that period was $35,413,000,000, and the national debt on the latter date was $26,210,000,000. In 1936 it was $33,779,000,000.

A Tax System. The great tax problem in America is the development of a just system for local and state taxation. The general property tax has been objected to, and when used alone it is not always just. The income tax and the sales tax seem to be fair ways of raising money for the government provided other sources of revenue are used at the same time. Inheritance and corporation taxes are in general use. Paying taxes is a patriotic duty which is more willingly performed when each person knows that he is paying a just share toward the support of our government.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note that a stable monetary system is essential for trade.

2. Notice that in normal times banks can lend a large percentage of the money held on deposit.

3. Observe that the rapid increase in public expenditure has resulted from the fact that the government is constantly undertaking new work.

4. Notice that a budget is necessary for wise expenditure.

Test Exercises

On a separate sheet of paper write the missing words in the following sentences.

1. The value of money depends on the _____ of the material of which it is made, the _____ the people have in the government which issued the money, and the amount of goods it will _____.
2. Money is used as a medium of _____.
3. In 1933 _____ coins were withdrawn from circulation.
4. There are _____ kinds of money in circulation in the United States.
5. The _____ protects the people by controlling the banks.
6. Public expenditure has increased _____ rapidly than wealth.
7. Government expenditure should be for the _____ good.
8. A statement which shows the amount of money needed and the sources of revenue is called a _____.
9. An income tax was first levied by the _____ government.
10. A _____ tax is one paid by a business firm which is enjoying special privileges conferred by the government.

Suggested Activities

1. Find out whether your nearest bank is a state or a national bank.

2. You learned in the text that a bank could lend three-fourths of the money it has on deposit. Suppose that it has done so and then all the depositors should want their money at the same time. Find out, by talking with older people, what the bank would do.

3. List the following as direct or indirect taxes:
   (a) Tax on real estate
   (b) Tax on imports
   (c) Tax on tobacco
   (d) Stamp tax
   (e) Inheritance tax
   (f) Income tax
   (g) Sales tax

4. Does the man who does not own real estate and does not pay an income tax contribute anything to the support of the government? Explain your answer.

5. Find out why cities spend more money per person than rural communities.

6. If you owed a man $10 and offered to pay him in pennies, would he have to accept them?

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

Do You Know These Terms?

universal education, 237.
political freedom, 239.
popular education, 239.
best sellers, 239.
dialects, 239.
public opinion, 241.
suppression, 241.
despotic power, 241.
vocational courses, 242.
illiteracy, 243.
compulsory education, 243.
compulsory attendance, 243.
escheats, 244.

In studying this chapter, the expressions listed here need to be understood. Explain each.

As You Read This Chapter

Be sure that you understand why it is necessary for a democratic government to provide free education for its citizens.

Going to School Is Working for the United States. Several times as many persons attend school in America as were ever assembled in the world's largest army; yet this great army of peace causes small excitement for we have grown accustomed to universal education. Perhaps when you started to school this year, you took school privileges for granted as if they had always been; yet they are really of recent origin, and the arguments which have brought such privileges are so important that no intelligent citizen can afford not to think of them. They show that going to school is closely related to the government we are studying.

When you buy a newspaper, you are hardly likely

to think that it may have an important relationship to the United States. Yet when you read one of these, a magazine, or a book, you are doing what

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The John B. Murphy Public School, Chicago. This is a typical modern school building. It contains a gymnasium, assembly hall, household arts rooms, manual training rooms, library, and other modern features.

comparatively few could have done a hundred years ago and our government has had much to do with making these things possible. Even when you mail a letter you are probably not conscious of the reasons why our country carries letters so cheaply. Educated citizens who read newspapers and books

and write letters are the best citizens. Political freedom and ignorance have never gone hand in hand.

Free Education and Communication Necessary. American public schools are our pride; in no other country are so many newspapers read or so many letters mailed. In addition to being proud of our schools we may well realize that America could not be without them. Because they could not comprehend the power of popular education, cheap reading material, and opportunities for travel, the wisest men who framed our Constitution could not picture our country's becoming a united country so large and varied in its industries as it is. Common, that is communicated, ideas hold us together; without education and general reading, these common ideas would not be numerous and strong enough to unite us. As it is, even though climate and occupations differ, all are able to read the same news, sing the same songs, read the same best sellers, and think the same thoughts. Where reading and travel are less general, even in small countries, there are many dialects, each so different from the other that there can be little common understanding. People, too, who cannot speak the same language are not likely to get along well together nor to understand and obey the same laws.

Americanization. A great educational problem is that of giving our millions of foreign immigrants an understanding of America. They may become

legally naturalized citizens after five years of residence, provided they have made proper declaration, passed examination, and sworn loyalty to the United States. Sometimes thousands of them settle together and fail to become naturalized. The act

Americanization Schools for Adult Foreigners. This shows a class of adults attending school in order to learn to speak and write the English language.

of naturalization itself is important; by it an alien becomes a citizen. But real acquaintance with the government and customs of their adopted country counts for more than the formality of naturalization. Americanization schools for adult foreigners are conducted in our great cities. While parents attend these schools, their children are studying our government in the public schools and becoming real Americans through that training.

Public Opinion. Another reason for the necessity

of intelligent, reading citizens is that all government of the people is controlled by public opinion. What all or most of the people want will come to pass. In the modern sense there could be no free government until there was an educated public, allowed the fullest freedom in choice of its reading. Public opinion in the United States makes and unmakes laws and lawmakers; it brings about or prevents law enforcement. It is a more real force than armies and navies for it brings these into being and makes them move.

Government Attitude Toward Public Opinion. Government attitudes toward the information and opinions of their citizens or subjects may be classed as suppression, control and guidance, or freedom and encouragement.

1. Despotic powers have limited education and effective opinion to a small controlling class which could itself be controlled. Such suppression was common in all the world until printing was invented.

2. With the advent of printing it was no longer possible to suppress education; books and papers could be produced for all with little expense. Governments now sought to prescribe what might or might not be read, and were especially afraid for the larger reading public to know too much about the government itself. Long after the Revolutionary War, the English government was still so afraid of too much free public opinion that it was doing nothing for popular education, taxed newspapers heav-

ily, and by vigorous measures endeavored to dictate what should be printed about the rulers themselves.

Attitude of the United States. Almost from the first, America adopted an attitude of encouragement to public education and freedom of public opinion. No other country has sung with so much truth politically "*Sweet* land of *liberty*." Universal, free, public education has been the ideal. Freedom of the press and of speech are guaranteed by the Constitution. Liberal postal laws have favored extensive circulation of magazines and newspapers. Political discussion has always been unrestricted; a people's government has not been afraid to let the "common people" know too much. The march of civilization has been steadily in the direction of universal education and freedom of discussion; the United States has taken a leading place in this advance.

Public Education in the United States. All the three kinds of government which Americans conduct for themselves — national, state, and local — are concerned with the promotion of free public education. The United States trains military and naval officers; controls schools in Alaska, the Philippines, and other territories; educates the Indians; assists the states in supporting agricultural colleges; and co-operates with states and local communities in maintaining vocational courses in high schools.

In addition, the national government supports the great library of Congress and many bureaus or offices whose business it is to furnish free information of value in nearly every business or occupation. People who do not write for such information when it is needed are depriving their own government of opportunities to help them.

The Bureau of Education is one of these sources of information. It has no legal authority over our schools but through the collection of statistical information and publication of educational bulletins, it performs a very useful service. The importance of education has led to a movement to create a national department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet and to set apart large sums of money to aid the states in support of schools, especially in reducing illiteracy. It has also been urged since the time of Washington's administration that a national university should be established at Washington.

The States in Education. Though there are no national laws relating to education and no United States system of schools, there is much uniformity among the individual states in their provisions for public education.

1. All states require local communities to maintain schools for all. This may be called compulsory education. Every state has also found it necessary to pass compulsory attendance laws since a few par-

ents are so short-sighted as to keep their children out of school at work or to send them so irregularly that they make little progress and drop out of school at the earliest opportunity. Most states also have laws forbidding employment of children during school hours. All such laws are more likely to be enforced in cities than in small communities and rural districts.

2. For many years state regulation and control of education has been increasing, and local authority decreasing. Once local trustees, directors, or committeemen determined the length of school term, adopted textbooks, and examined teachers. Most of these powers are now exercised in part or altogether by the states. The result has been increased economy and higher standards. The principal school officer, usually called the superintendent or commissioner, has in many states a group of specialists who supervise the schools and encourage the best work.

3. State support of education has likewise been increasing. State school funds consist of proceeds of the sale of lands, sections sixteen and thirty-six being devoted to education except in the older states. Fines, escheats, and other minor sources of revenue are frequently added to school funds. In addition to school funds, the interest only of which is used, several states have a general tax for school support. The advantage of state over local support is found in the fact that very poor communities

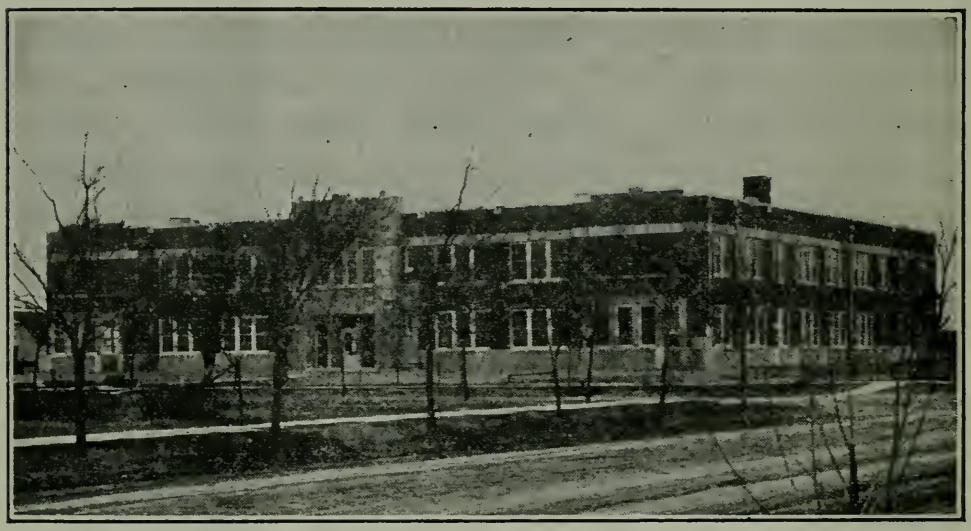
which might be brought to higher standards may thus be aided, and special types of vocational education may be developed.

Aside from such regulation and support as have been mentioned most states maintain a state university or provide scholarships in universities already established. They usually provide normal schools or teachers' colleges for the training of teachers; they co-operate with the national government in support and control of vocational courses in high schools. Special schools for deaf, blind, and incorrigible are also conducted by the state.

Local Government in Relation to Education. Most of the money required to support the school you attend probably came from county, city, or district taxation. Local trustees, directors, or committeemen employ teachers, and provide buildings and supplies for operation of the schools. This board is in nearly all cases elected by the voters; in this way the people determine how their schools are to be supported and conducted. There is a tendency to reduce the number of small country districts by consolidation and by the county unit, a plan by which a single board manages all the schools of a county instead of having a separate board for each little school.

Your Opportunity and Obligation. The cost of public education in America is very great, requiring usually from one-third to one-half of all money raised by local taxation. Common schools are free

to all in most European countries, but nowhere outside of the United States is the attempt made to furnish free high school and college education. "It costs too much" or "We should have too many educated people," these countries seem to say. We



The Colby Consolidated School in Thomas County, Kansas. Schools like this provide for all the children within a radius of several miles, and bring educational opportunity to remote country districts.

think such ideas wrong, but our real success depends upon the energy, zeal, and honest effort which boys and girls put into their school work. The worst enemies of our schools are not those who find fault with them but the ones who fail to profit by them. If pupils who have been offered educational opportunities are quitters, leaving school before they become most worth while to themselves and their country, they are arguing against public support of higher education. If pupils who have spent many

years in school are not on the average worth more to the country than those who have had meagre opportunities, why should we insist that all shall attend?

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note that no other nation has done so much for universal, fre public education as has the United States.

2. Observe that most public education, however, is carried on b the state and local units of government.

3. Observe that the tendency is to increase the responsibility of the state for carrying on education.

Test Exercises

Answer these questions by *Yes* or *No*.

1. Is going to school in any sense working for the government?
2. Do education and exchange of ideas unite the people of a country?
3. Do Americanization and naturalization mean the same thing?
4. Do men in public office pay little attention to public opinion?
5. Do despotic governments encourage education as much as democratic governments?
6. Do all states have compulsory education laws?
7. Is there a tendency to increase state support of education?
8. Is the small rural school better than the consolidated school?
9. Are pupils who have spent many years in school worth more to their country than those who have spent few years in school?

Suggested Activities

1. Find out the requirements of the compulsory education law of your state.
2. Find out where your teacher gets her certificate which permits her to teach.
3. Find out whether or not your state gives financial support to all the schools of the state.
4. Write a short paragraph on the educational value of the Library of Congress or the Smithsonian Institute.
5. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, That all newspapers in the United States should be printed in English.
(b) Resolved, That citizens who are unable to read should not be allowed to vote.
(c) Resolved, That Congress should establish a department of education in the President's cabinet.

CHAPTER XVII

COMMUNICATION

Do You Know These Terms?

semaphore, 252. **propaganda, 258.**
treasonable doctrines, 258. **independent thinking, 258.**
freedom of the press, 257.

The above expressions are made clear in the Explanation of Terms. Make yourself familiar with their meanings before studying this chapter.

As You Read This Chapter

Learn about the rapid growth of communication and its importance to our country and to the world.

Language. Communication is a fundamental necessity. Communication may be by signs, facial expressions, or vocal sounds which make up our oral language. There seems to be in human beings a natural tendency to communicate with one another. Children who do not speak the same language, but happen to be thrown together, soon develop some means of communication. All groups of people, even the lowest savages, have developed some kind of a language by which they can communicate.

Writing was developed quite early in the history of the race. In early Egypt the people developed a kind of picture writing, and later a writing where a sign stood for a word, and finally where the sign stood for a sound. These signs, or letters, were borrowed from the Phoenicians by the Greeks and

Romans from whom we have inherited them. Thus we have obtained the alphabet which is the basis of our written language. The Egyptians also made ink, and a kind of paper from a plant that grew on the banks of the Nile. With a written language and ink and paper they were able to write down their ideas and to communicate them from one to another. But more important still is the fact that a written language enables a people to communicate from one generation to the next. Thus discoveries and inventions may be handed down in writing. This power which human beings have discovered and developed has had a great influence in the civilization and upward career of man.

Communication Through Printing. For thousands of years after man had learned to write, all books had to be written out in longhand, each copy requiring months of careful labor. It was almost impossible, therefore, to have two copies of a book exactly the same. In those days a copy of such a book as the *Bible* was of great value, probably about the same as that of a farm or ordinary home in the city of that time. About five hundred years ago a German, named Gutenberg, invented the printing press. His press was very crude and consisted of moveable type placed in a wooden press. A great advantage of his invention was that it permitted the making of as many copies of a document as were desired, and all exactly alike. For two or three hundred years after Gutenberg's time, however, print-

ing was a very slow process. Only a few copies could be made in an hour. A little more than a hundred years ago a man named Stanhope made an iron printing press. Since then, many other men have made improvements in the printing press; and still others have invented and perfected steam engines, gasoline engines, and electric motors which furnish power to run the great printing presses that have gradually been developed, until today a single large press will print, cut, fold, and count three hundred thousand newspapers an hour. Thus the power of communication through a written language, by means of printing, has been developed until it is one of the great influences of our time.

The great number of newspapers, magazines, and books that are coming from our modern printing presses brings within the reach of everyone the best thoughts of all the past ages. Anyone who cares to read may now receive communications from the great poets, philosophers, and thinkers of all time. The thought of all the past, together with our own thinking, is being stored up in great fireproof library buildings to be preserved and passed on to the next generation. Our schools, our commerce, and our industry are dependent upon the art of modern printing.

Agencies of Communication. We have many agencies of communication, some of which also serve transportation; for example, roads, waterways, railways, and air routes. Other agencies of

communication are the post office, telegraph, telephone, radio, and finally the recording agencies, such as books, papers, and magazines. In addition to these ordinary means of communication, the typewriter, printing press, and camera may be thought of as other means of communication. Just this mere enumeration indicates that communication is one of the important problems of our time. Roads, railroads, waterways, and air routes will be discussed in the chapter on transportation. We shall discuss the other agencies of communication in this chapter.

The Telegraph. Every boy scout learns to signal by means of the semaphore. When he is signalling a message to another boy at a distance he is in a sense telegraphing. The word telegraph means to write afar. The sending of messages over wires by means of electricity was first made practical by Samuel F. B. Morse. After years of effort he succeeded in getting Congress to appropriate thirty thousand dollars with which he built a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore. The line was finished while the National Democratic Convention of 1844 was in session at Baltimore. One of the first messages transmitted to Washington was the news of the nomination of James K. Polk for President. The immense practical value of communicating by wire was recognized and within a few years the Western Union Telegraph Company was organized, and telegraph lines were built between all im-

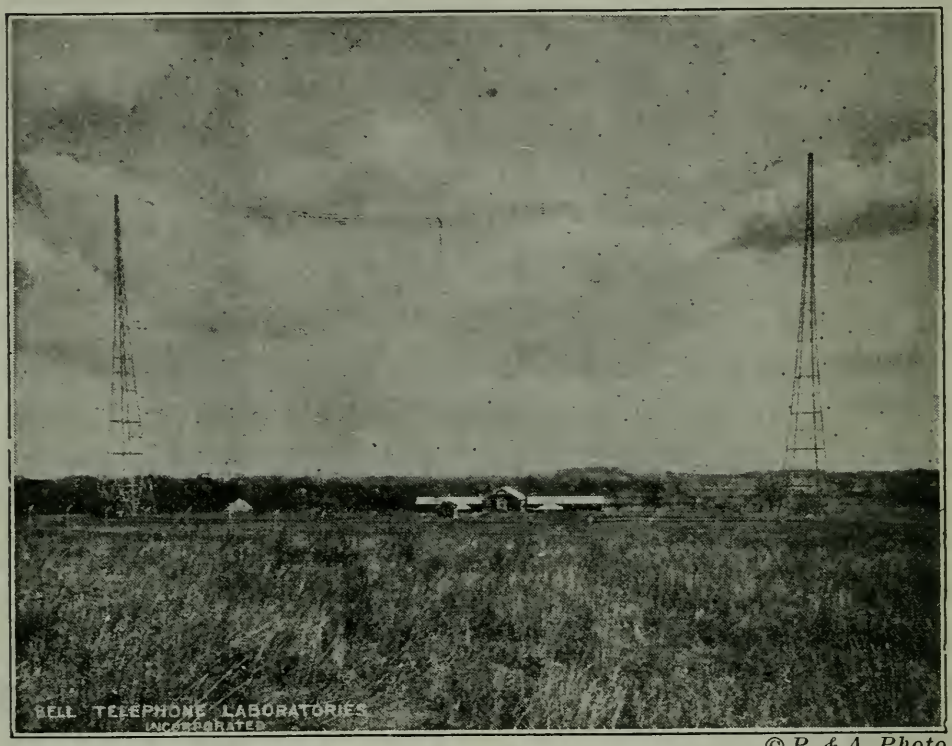
portant cities. By 1862 a telegraph line had been completed to the Pacific Coast. Four years later a cable was laid across the Atlantic Ocean, and since that time the whole world has been joined together by telegraph lines and cables until we can now receive the news from every part of the world every day.

The Telephone. The first telephone was successfully demonstrated by Alexander Graham Bell at the World's Fair in Philadelphia in 1876. At the end of fifty years there were nearly eighteen million telephones in the United States, and the total investment in the telephone business was more than three billion dollars. Not only are practically all the houses of any city connected with one another by telephone, but all the cities of our country are also connected so that we can now talk at any time to almost anyone almost anywhere. It is impossible to estimate the tremendous labor-saving effect of the telephone.

Since 1924, photographs have been successfully transmitted over telephone wires and the more important large cities of the United States now have telephotographic equipment by which pictures may be transmitted from city to city by wire. Through the use of the radio, London and Honolulu also have telephotographic connections with these cities.

Radio Communication. Probably the development of the radio is the most wonderful of all the stories of communication. Wireless telegraph has

been known since 1901, but more advanced methods, making possible the broadcasting of programs by radio, were first used in 1919. Now radio broad-



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A Radio Station. The experimental radio station of the Bell Telephone Company. The wires suspended between the steel towers are the antennae, and from these wires radio programs are broadcast to all parts of the country.

casting stations are connected with churches, theaters, athletic fields, and other public places, and the public is able to hear the programs in their own homes. A network of telephone lines can be hooked together to transmit a program or a speech to a great number of broadcasting stations at the same time. Thus everyone in the United States who cares

to listen in can hear a man speak. It is estimated that from fifteen to twenty-five million people frequently listen to the voice of the President of the United States. Radio communication is being used more and more in our political campaigns, and it may become the determining factor in our important elections. So important has radio communication become that the United States government has passed a law providing for a commission of five to control broadcasting. In connection with the radio, television is being perfected in order that it will be possible to see the persons participating in the radio programs.

Communication by Means of Pictures. For centuries, men have communicated the pictures of other men, great buildings, and various objects by means of painting and drawing, but it is only in the past one hundred years that pictures have been taken by the camera. It is said that Samuel F. B. Morse and John W. Draper took the first photograph of the human face less than a hundred years ago, but the camera has been perfected so that picture records are now made of almost everything and almost everybody. When filed away, pictures become means of communicating to the future, just as do books and papers. Within recent years the motion picture has been developed and this also serves as a method of communication. It brings to us through pictures information regarding current events, historical incidents, and the manners of liv-

ing of distant peoples, as well as supplying many hours of entertainment. Photographs and moving pictures of manufacturing processes often become the best means of communicating knowledge. The

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United States Air Mail Plane. One of the very important agencies of communication is the airplane. Mail is carried by airplane from coast to coast and to many important points in the country. The use of air mail service is increasing rapidly.

motion picture is, moreover, one of the most effective methods of advertising. It may be used to give publicity to candidates for office, and thus becomes a power in politics.

Advertising. Advertising may be called a special form of communication. It is of great importance in our commercial, industrial, and political life. Advertisers make use of many agencies of communication. The postoffice, the press, the motion picture, the radio are all used effectively. The bill-

board can be seen along our streets and highways. Many of our important industries depend very largely upon advertising for the sale of their products.

The Post Office. Probably the greatest single agency for communication is the United States Post Office. Through the post office any of us can communicate with our friends anywhere in the world. Every day it dispatches tons of printed matter as well as thousands of business communications and letters of friendship. This service of providing communication through mail at a minimum cost is one of the most important which the United States government renders to its people.

Schools. Although we have dealt with education in a separate chapter, schools also have a place in a discussion of communication. Without the ability to read and write, which is the purpose of universal education, most of the agencies of communication would be useless. No one would put up a billboard if people traveling the highways could not read. No business firm would advertise if people were unable to read advertisements; in fact, our whole system of communication, including printing presses and the post office department, depends upon the ability of the public to read. Thus public education is necessary if our agencies of communication are to function properly.

Problems of Communication. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and of the press, but

it does not permit anyone to communicate treasonable doctrines or to utter slander or libel. Laws prevent the use of indecent language in letters, and it is unlawful to advertise fraudulent undertakings or illegal schemes, such as lotteries. A great problem for those who read newspapers and magazines is to determine which opinions are really correct, for much propaganda finds its way into the press in one way or another. The only sure protection against wrong ideas, which the reading of such propaganda may produce, is widespread independent thinking. Mere ability to read is not enough; knowing how much, and what to believe are equally necessary. An old newspaper had these verses on its title page:

"We do not belong to our patrons,
Our paper is wholly our own;
Whoever may like it, may take it;
Who don't, may just leave it alone."

This would still be a good policy but for advertising. When the advertiser buys space the paper is no longer "wholly our own." If you look through the advertising columns of most periodicals, you may discover statements which are untrue or much exaggerated. To a certain degree the advertiser has a right to the space for which he pays, but the public has also the right to know that he is paying the periodical to print his opinions or statements. It is for this reason that laws in many states re-

quire the publication of a statement like "Paid advertising" or "This advertisement is paid for by ——" in connection with articles for or against political candidates or public measures.

More than half of the income of most large publications is from advertising. Very few could be published upon subscription only. In some of the larger magazines a one-page advertisement may cost thousands of dollars. It is not always easy for a paper to express independent opinion when income from advertising is necessary to keep it going from week to week. An educated public is not likely to be misled by wrong propaganda in paid advertising. Ignorant people, barely intelligent enough to read, are frequently deceived in this way; they are led to spend their money unwisely and to hold views which those who pay for advertising wish them to have.

It is not difficult to see that from the standpoint of good government, going to school, learning to read, learning what to read, and how much to believe of what is read, are very important. A strong, popular government is possible only among citizens who read and think. Illiterate voters are political risks which we cannot afford to carry.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Observe that the number of agencies for communication have multiplied rapidly.

2. Note that the Constitution of the United States provided for

communication by establishing the Post Office Department and by granting freedom of speech and of the press.

Test Exercises

Match the items in the first column with those in the second column by placing their numbers together on a separate sheet of paper.

1. Phoenicians.	1. Makes many identical copies.
2. Egyptians.	2. Wireless broadcasting.
3. Earliest means of communication.	3. Our alphabet.
4. Printing.	4. Made ink.
5. Telegraph.	5. Pictures by wire.
6. Bell.	6. Spoken language.
7. Telephotography.	7. Write afar.
8. Radio.	8. The telephone.
9. Post office.	9. See afar.
10. Television.	10. Mail.

Suggested Activities

1. Find out the number of copies printed daily of the newspaper which comes to your home.

2. Examine the advertisements in a newspaper or magazine and see if you can find any statements which you think may be exaggerated or untrue.

3. Examine a newspaper and select the most important articles for presentation to your class.

4. Find out the number of states with which the members of your class can communicate through the radio. Let pupils mention the states from which they have heard programs of any kind.

5. Find out the meaning of first, second, third, and fourth class mail and the postage rate for each.

6. Find out the number of telephones in your state in 1927. How does it compare with other states?

CHAPTER XVIII

HEALTH AND RECREATION

Do You Know These Terms?

epidemic, 261.
contagious disease, 262.
public hygiene, 263.
quarantine, 263.
sewage, 264.
medical attention, 268.
contaminate, 265.

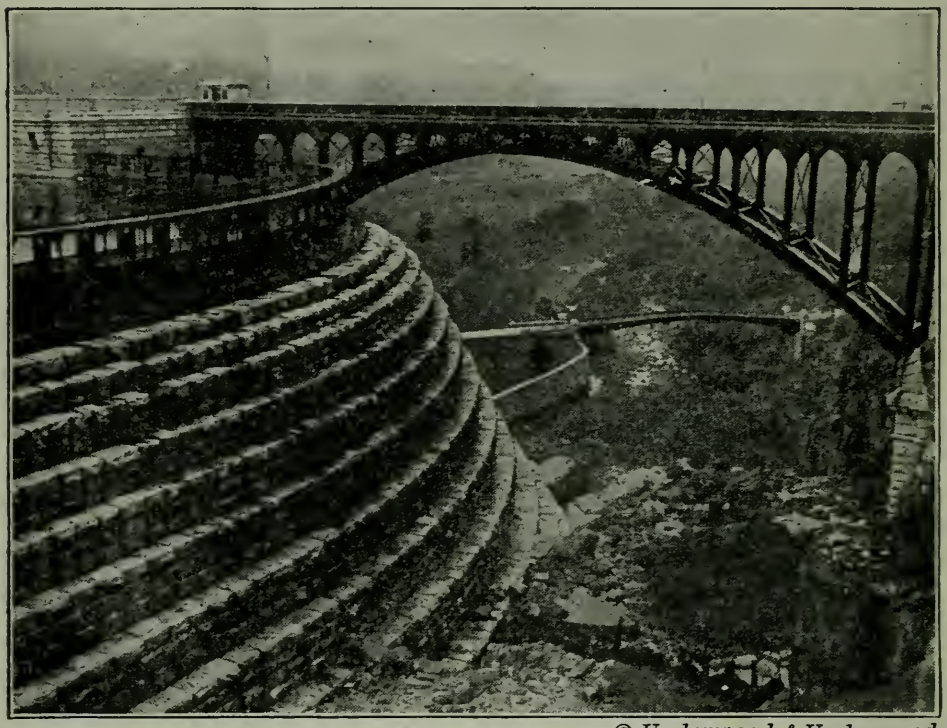
Before you can understand this chapter you must understand the meanings of the terms listed above.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Find out what responsibility each individual has in promoting public health.
2. Find out why recreation is an important part of a health program.

Causes of Disease. Sunshine, air, food, and water are essential to life. In ancient times when people became ill they thought some evil spirit was the cause of their trouble. The cure consisted of charms which were supposed to drive the evil spirit away. Not a great many years ago people believed sickness to be a visitation of providence and some ignorant people today hold to that belief. All intelligent persons now know that most illness is caused directly or indirectly by impure food, wrong living conditions, or impure water. Impure milk is the source of many epidemics, especially among children. Diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, tonsilitis and tuberculosis are frequently traced to an impure milk supply. Other foods, if handled care-

lessly or kept too long, carry disease. Filthy living conditions are the sources of much illness of which the cause is never suspected. A servant living in a



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The Gigantic Dam at Croton, New York. It is one of the sources of New York City's water supply. The reservoir holds over thirty billion gallons of water.

dirty hovel may carry disease to the kitchen of the cleanest and most sanitary home. Authorities on health tell us that pollution of wells and sources of public water supply is the cause of many thousands of deaths annually in the United States.

Contagious Diseases. When smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, or any other contagious disease is discovered, the doctor must report the case at once to

the local health officer. The health officer puts a sign on the house warning everyone of the presence of the disease. No one except the doctor and nurse is allowed to enter or leave. The house is said to be quarantined. If quarantine rules are kept faithfully, a contagious disease can usually be stamped out. If someone fails to keep the rules, he may carry the disease to other people. Laws provide penalties for those who break quarantine rules. In the case of some contagious diseases it has been discovered that vaccination prevents contagion. Sometimes the health authorities require all persons in a community to be vaccinated. Failure to get rid of ordinary contagions means that someone has failed to obey or enforce public health measures. Those who fail in such matters fall short of being good citizens. They fail to pass the test that every good citizen should pass. They fail to control themselves.

Prevention of Diseases. 1. *Personal and Public Hygiene.* Since the causes of most diseases are now known, prevention is in most cases possible. It is far better not to allow disease to get a start than to wait and risk curing it after it starts. The prevention of disease depends upon hygiene—personal and public. Personal hygiene cannot be successfully practiced by any good citizen in a community in which public hygiene is neglected, and the best public hygiene is fully successful only when every member of the community faithfully practices personal hygiene. If one person in the neigh-

borhood has filthy habits, he is likely to have disease which may spread. No community can be clean and healthful unless it has sanitation rules obeyed by all. Public and personal hygiene faithfully practiced prevents losses in happiness, energy, and money, which losses always accompany disease. Control of oneself in such matters represents one of the highest types of control.

2. *Destroying Flies and Mosquitoes.* Flies and mosquitoes are carriers of disease. The fight against mosquitoes is conducted by draining swamps and pools of stagnant water and by oiling water surfaces where draining is not possible. Neglected rain barrels are breeding places for mosquitoes. By its fight on the mosquito our government has done a great deal to make the world a better place in which to live. The construction of the Panama Canal was made possible by sanitary measures, especially through destruction of the mosquito.

Flies spread typhoid fever and infantile paralysis. The struggle against the fly is a community fight against filth and dirt. Starving the fly by destroying its breeding places is better than swatting the fly.

3. *Removal of Waste.* Disposal of waste presents a serious problem in many cities. Piping which is sufficient to carry the sewage of a small city proves too small with growth in population; streets must be broken up and new mains laid. Garbage dumps endanger health. If waste is drained or dumped

into a conveniently situated river or lake, it may pollute the water and thus contaminate the water supply of another community. Strict laws and ut-

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A Vacuum Street-Cleaner. The machine shown in this picture helps to keep city streets clean in much the same way a vacuum cleaner helps to keep your home clean. One of these cleaners can work much more rapidly than a group of men and can do a better job.

most watchfulness by health authorities are needed to safeguard community health from disease caused by a defiled water supply. Rural sanitation is of importance to the whole country because it affects many of our people directly and the others indirectly. The problem is one for the entire nation to solve. The United States Public Health Service has made several health surveys in representative rural sections of the country. In these, each home in the county was visited. It was found that in more than

half of the homes flies were not screened from the kitchen and dining room and that water used for drinking and cooking was exposed to danger from impurities. These health surveys led to a marked improvement in the sanitary conditions of the communities in which they were made. The results of this extensive investigation in rural sanitation showed that rural sanitation was possible, that it was badly needed, and that its cost was very much less than the cost of the illness which it prevented. Rural sanitation depends upon education and will pay for the money and effort such an education costs.

Public Health Organizations. Our government has created special organizations for dealing with health work. City, county, state, and nation cooperate in the work of public hygiene, enforcement of quarantines, and other public regulations.

1. *United States Public Health Service.* The Public Health Service has been of untold value in discovering the causes of disease and methods of prevention. It has charge of quarantine regulations between the states and at seaports. Ships coming to the United States are required to wait in quarantine while the health officers make a careful inspection. This service prevents immigrants from bringing contagions into the country. Since the close of the war the service in co-operation with the state and local boards of health has been extended to child hygiene. The publication of health

bulletins for general distribution has been an important branch of the Public Health Service. In this way much has been done to promote health education. Three bureaus of the United States government, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Education, and the Bureau of Public Health, have engaged in public health work.

2. *State, City, and County Boards of Health.* Every state has a state board of health. Many of these boards were established in the period immediately following the Civil War. Most state boards at first showed little activity. Appropriations were small and only the most urgent work could be done. As appropriations were increased, state-wide campaigns for the prevention of tuberculosis became frequent. Most states now have departments for sanitary engineering which deal with questions of water supply and sewage. A record of births and deaths is kept; and child welfare has received increased attention.

County boards have power to enforce health regulations in rural communities. City boards have such power over the cities, where the problems are more difficult because of crowded living conditions. Contagions spread more readily where conditions are crowded. For this reason city authorities must have great powers and exercise them faithfully to protect the lives of the people.

Child Welfare. The Children's Bureau at Washington, D. C., was established in 1912. One of the

important tasks of this Bureau is to decrease the high death rate of babies. The reasons for the needless loss of human life among infants are being carefully considered and one remedy after another is being developed. Efforts to insure a clean, pure supply of milk are being continually made; visiting nurses go into the homes; medical attention, medicine, and instruction are available through free medical dispensaries; booklets on the care of infants are printed—in several languages—and are widely distributed.

Nor does the government stop in the Child Welfare work with saving the babies. Much attention is given by this bureau to providing schools that are well lighted and well ventilated, often with roomy gymnasiums—and playgrounds open after school hours. Health laws have required the use of the drinking fountain, rather than the tin cup. School physicians and nurses to care for the physical welfare of the pupils are provided in many communities. The serving of milk to the pupils each morning as a means of combating the problem of under-nourishment is a common practice; a wholesome, hot lunch served at a minimum cost is still another means of attacking this same problem. Pupils spend so large a portion of their time in school that no community can afford any but sanitary school surroundings and vigorous health precautions.

As a protection to the pupil when he leaves the

school room we have the Child Labor Laws regulating his hours of work. Other laws insure proper working conditions, while the sanitary and healthful living conditions are being secured for the home through housing regulations.

Pure Food Laws. If the farmer sells stale eggs direct to the consumer, the purchaser may make complaint. If the consumer and producer are thousands of miles apart, or if the food has gone through many processes of preparation, the first seller and the last buyer can have no personal dealings. Cheap adulterated foods might be placed on the market at prices lower than pure food can be produced. Poisonous coloring matter might be used, or foods likely to decay might be preserved by using unhealthful drugs. To make sure that only pure foods and drugs are sold, the United States and most of the individual states have pure food laws.

These laws prohibit the manufacture and sale of injurious foods and require the correct labeling of other foods. Honest weights and measures are required by most pure food laws and should be demanded by all citizens.

Provision is also made for the federal inspection of meats throughout all the large packing plants. The carcasses which are found to be in a wholesome condition, free from disease, are stamped with a small government stamp—a guarantee of their purity.

The Work of Voluntary Health Organizations. Our government is able to do only a small part of what scientific investigation has shown may be done to prevent disease. Public spirited people have supplemented this effort by organizing voluntary health associations of various kinds, not less than fifty being at work at present. Prominent among these are the Red Cross, tuberculosis societies, and child welfare organizations. A national health council has been organized to secure co-operation among these societies. Leaders in the fight against disease see the whole world as one community; the United States cannot be safe with contagious disease anywhere in the world. The Rockefeller Foundation is doing a great deal in this world-wide fight against disease. George E. Vincent in the 1919 report says, "The war against disease is a world war. Commerce carries dangerous infections, as well as goods and ideas. The health problems of the remotest lands concern all peoples. More and more, nations are coming to recognize their interdependence in health as well as in industry, government, science, and culture."

Recreation. In large cities so many people are brought together within small space that special provision must be made to insure playgrounds for children. Some cities, through wise foresight, have preserved parks for recreation; others have found it necessary to buy playgrounds and parks after all the ground has been built in.

Many of the parks are rich in natural beauty, with winding walks and drives, beautiful flowers, trees, and shrubbery. Band concerts in the park on warm summer evenings add much to the pleasure of the city dweller, while in the winter the lagoons

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The Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association Roof Playground. These children are occupied in wholesome play on the roof as contrasted to play in a dirty alley.

are crowded with skaters. In many of the field houses, branches of the Public Library bring the pleasures of the reading room to the people of the community; and gymnasium classes for both boys and girls are conducted after school hours.

During the summer the smaller children find the sand piles, the wading pools, the see-saws, and the swings a great delight; the older children enjoy the well equipped out-door gymnasium, the swimming

pools, the tennis courts, the baseball field—with athletic contests planned for their pleasure. Here is really a playground for all—and its great need can be appreciated only by one who knows intimately the conditions of crowded city life.

Though parks and playgrounds cost a great deal, play and recreation in the open air are so necessary to health that money thus invested is well spent. Aside from providing parks, playgrounds, and reading rooms, most American cities confine their responsibility for community recreation to the regulation of amusement enterprises conducted by private individuals.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note that public hygiene is dependent upon personal hygiene.

2. Notice that it is necessary to have pure foods and water in order to preserve health.

3. Notice that good health is promoted by recreational facilities.

Test Exercises

On a separate piece of paper write the words missing from the following sentences.

1. All intelligent persons know that most _____ is caused directly or indirectly by _____ food, wrong living conditions, and impure _____.

2. When a _____ disease is reported to a health officer, he puts a sign on the _____ warning people to keep out.

3. Flies spread typhoid _____ and infantile paralysis.

4. The best way to get rid of flies is to destroy their _____ places.

5. Rural sanitation depends upon _____ and will pay for the money and effort such an education costs.

6. Public health service has been of untold value in discovering causes of _____ and methods of prevention.

7. Health laws have required the use of the drinking fountain rather than the _____.

8. To make sure that only pure foods and drugs are sold, the United States and most of the individual states have enacted _____ _____ laws.

9. "The war against disease is a _____ war. Commerce carries dangerous infections, as well as goods and ideas. The health problems of the remotest lands _____ all peoples. More and more, nations are coming to recognize their interdependence in _____ as well as in industry, government, science, and culture."

10. Money invested in _____ and parks is well spent because play and recreation in the open air are so necessary.

Suggested Activities

1. Make a survey of your community and find out what you can do to make it a more healthful community. Also find out some of the things which could be done by your local government.

2. Find out if the government takes any steps to insure that the milk which you drink is pure. Write a paragraph giving the results of your investigation.

3. Write a short paragraph on the recreation facilities of your school and community. Suggest means for improvement.

4. Find out what your local health authorities do for the prevention of contagious diseases in the school and the community.

5. Find out if there is a national park in your state. If not, where is the one nearest your home? If you have ever visited a national park, tell the class about it.

6. Appoint three speakers on each side to debate the following question: Resolved, That the country is a more healthful place to live than the city.

CHAPTER XIX

LAWLESSNESS AND CRIME

Do You Know These Terms?

criminal, 275.
misdemeanor, 275.
violation of law, 275.
poverty, 278.
environment, 278.
heredity, 278.
parole, 279.
juvenile court, 279.

From a dictionary or the explanatory list on pages 355-372 learn the meanings of these expressions.

As You Read This Chapter

Learn what the causes of crime are and what is being done to prevent crime.

How Great Is America? America has so many advantages that a truthful enumeration of them sounds like bragging. People from less favored countries accuse us of saying with regard to almost anything American, "It is the greatest in the world." With this in mind, someone has said, "America is the greatest and richest country in the world. It has the tallest buildings and the most fires. Its trains run the fastest, go off the track oftenest, and kill the most people. It has the most freedom and the greatest percentage of law-breakers; it has the most intelligent people and the most who do not know how to behave themselves."

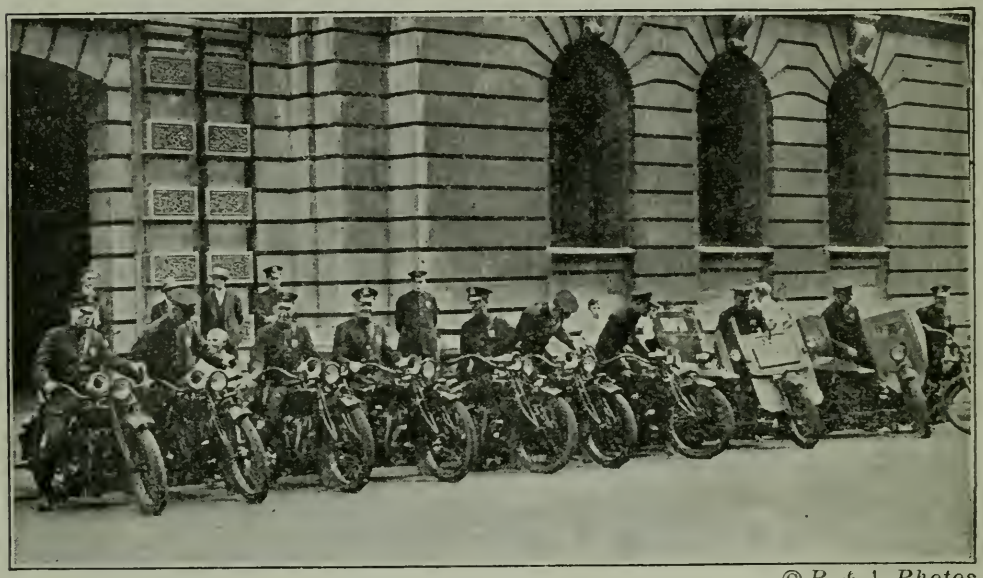
Unfortunately some of these uncomplimentary statements are true. Especially do we have a great many law-breakers. Those whose law-breaking re-

sults in serious wrongdoing are called criminals; in a sense every violation of law is a crime, though the term *misdemeanor* is given to less serious wrongs, such as dumping ashes in a forbidden street or disturbing church service by noisy conduct. So many failures in co-operation as are represented by our lawlessness must be reckoned with in answering the question, "How Great Is America?"

How Much Crime Costs Us. Much of our energy still has to be expended in dealing with crime. We spend about as much for this as we do for all kinds of education. Jails and prisons are made necessary because of crime. A large share of the time of our expensive courts must be devoted to criminal cases. Anything which causes so much misery and so great a burden of expense should surely receive most thoughtful attention. The question as to whether America has more crime than other great countries is not as important as the challenge of what each of us can do to lessen serious law violation. In dealing with crime every community has to consider protection of itself against criminals and prevention or reduction of conditions which develop criminals.

Protection Against Crime. Forcible protection against the injury which criminals might do was once the only great measure used in relation to crime; nothing but fear of consequences avails against the worst law-breakers. To make ourselves safe against those who might kill, steal, burn houses, forge checks, counterfeit money, or rob

trains, some would-be wrong-doers have to be kept afraid. We must have strong, vigilant, courageous policemen and sheriffs, ready to use force in carrying out stern laws. Mere knowledge that such



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Motorcycle Policemen. These officers, who represent the strong arm of the law are ready to strike when the report comes in that some individual has been unable to control himself according to established rules.

officers are ever ready to make arrests, prevents crime. Fear of a just court which may impose a heavy fine, a term in prison, or the death penalty restrains some. Even well-lighted streets make crime less frequent because of greater fear of being caught. We have jails and penitentiaries in which to confine those who are too dangerous to have their liberty.

Prevention of Criminals. But all the forcible measures we may adopt for mere protection do not

of necessity make less the numbers of those who would be criminals if they were bold enough, nor do they permanently reduce crime. Every wrong-doer kept in prison is a dead-weight upon his community when he should be carrying his part of the load as a useful citizen. Prevention of conditions which may lead to crime is the great problem which the world is now trying to solve. No argument is needed to prove that prevention is more economical than protection alone and that it is more just. To go about the solution intelligently we must ask, "What are the causes and what can be done?"

Causes of Crime. 1. *Carelessness Causes Crime.* We are not usually inclined to hold persons responsible for carelessness, but it is possible to be criminally careless. Piling burning ashes against woodwork causes many fires for which careless persons are criminally responsible. Ignoring "safety first" directions may be criminal. Even though the accident may befall the careless person, others suffer. The excuse, "I didn't mean to," is weak and insufficient. It takes watchful, good intentions to avoid what the law calls criminal negligence.

2. *Idleness.* "An idle brain is the devil's workshop." "Idle hands find mischief still." It has been found that a very large percentage of criminals have never learned how to do any useful work. They have not the satisfaction which comes with an honestly earned living. Sometimes they are hobos who have acquired the love of wandering and de-

spise steady employment. There are even some who would willingly work but who fall into poverty because they have learned no trade for which there is demand. Such poverty frequently leads to crime.

3. *Ignorance.* A large proportion of law-breaking would not occur if all were intelligent enough to know the consequences of violating laws. Criminals as a class have little education; most of them dropped out of school very early. Education has always been recognized as one of the most effective ways of reducing crime.

4. *Criminal Environment.* In the story of *Oliver Twist* an environment is described in which little boys were taught skillful stealing. Stealing was not thought of as wrong though it was considered awful to be caught. Children whose parents steal and lie are not likely to regard stealing and lying as bad. Neglected children are sometimes nearly as unfortunate as those who come from vicious homes.

5. *Heredity.* You have doubtless heard, "It is strange he turned out so well; his parents are so bad," or "He ought to be better; his parents are good people." Everyone recognizes that good ancestry counts but ancestry seldom makes sure that anyone will be good or bad. It is easier for some to do right than for others. Those who inherit weak or nervous constitutions are at a great disadvantage in this respect. Sometimes the only treatment of criminals which is fair to the community

is confinement where they can do no harm. Fortunately nearly all can be kept from a criminal life by the right environment.

New Methods of Treatment. Instead of treating all law-breakers alike, the attempt is now made to deal with each according to his individual needs. If the cause of crime is carelessness, idleness, ignorance, or criminal environment, these can be changed. Juvenile courts take time to inquire into all the circumstances surrounding any crime; they sometimes take young offenders away from their evil companions and keep them in school or at work. If possible these law-breakers are paroled or put upon their honor instead of being sent to a reformatory. In other words, they are given a chance, and teachers, classmates, and friends are given an opportunity to help them make good.

First offenders among grown-up criminals are no longer treated like hardened cases who have prison habits; they are paroled if possible, sent to special prisons, or at least kept separate from habitual criminals whose example could only make them worse. Stern discipline has to be maintained in prisons but the occasional criminal imprisoned for a short time is given opportunity to learn a trade. If the cause of his crime was carelessness, idleness, or ignorance it is probable that he will leave prison a much better person than he was when he entered it. Last of all, when a criminal has served his sentence or is pardoned and set at liberty, he finds

more persons than he could formerly have found who regard him as an unfortunate rather than as a wicked person. He is not at first thoroughly trusted but he is not despised and called a jail bird. He may be given a chance to "come back," and if he succeeds, his prison record will not be constantly held up as a disgrace.

Boys and Girls May Help. Boys and girls can help to make America's record for lawlessness better. They can make sure that they obey the laws themselves. This it seems very easy to do when one thinks of the great laws of the state which seem so far away that they give us little trouble. Often it is the little rules of school, playground, and home which need our attention. Stealing a street car ride, a few apples through the fence, or a sum of money may not seem equally serious, but all are stealing. Cheating in examinations or in basket ball is as lawless as dishonesty in a business deal.

Those who study our government will soon be making laws which govern us. If they are intelligent lawmakers, they will pass laws which are clear in meaning and which can be enforced. In another chapter it has been shown that some of our laws are not wise ones. We have no right, however, to make this fact an excuse for lawlessness, since we make our own laws. Unwise laws should be unmade but not disobeyed.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Observe that crime and its cost are burdens brought upon a community by the failure of the individual to act in accordance with established rules.

2. Note that the cost of crime is equal to the cost of all education.

Test Exercises

On a separate piece of paper, write the words missing in the following sentences.

1. The cost of crime is _____ to the cost of all kinds of education.

2. One reason for confining criminals in jails is to _____ society from the injury which they might do.

3. New methods of treatment for criminals endeavor to find the _____ of the crime and remove it where possible.

4. The five causes of crime are _____, _____, _____, _____, and _____.

Suggested Activities

1. All the possible causes of crime listed below have been suggested to account for its increase. Pick out five of those which you think are most important.

picture shows
spoiled children
too much education
too little education
too much money
parents too busy
lax courts
bad books
cigarettes
loafing at night
no place to play
not attending church
poverty

2. Which of the reasons given below is the most important to be considered in sending a lawbreaker to jail?

(a) To get even with him.
(b) To reform him.
(c) To make an example for others.
(d) To keep him from doing more harm.

3. Appoint three speakers on each side to debate the following question: Resolved, That cheating in examinations is as bad as any other form of stealing.

CHAPTER XX

TRANSPORTATION

Do You Know These Terms?

permanent highways, 285.
Interstate Commerce Commission, 293.
competing lines, 299.
lighter-than-air craft, 303.

These expressions are often seen in newspapers and magazines. You should ascertain their meanings before reading the chapter.

As You Read This Chapter

1. Be sure that you understand the four methods of transportation and how each serves the people of our country.
2. Find out why the government is interested in the question of transportation and why transportation is regulated by the state and national governments instead of local governments.

Methods of Transportation. Transportation has always held an important place in the development of states and nations. When the white man first appeared in America, animal paths and Indian trails marked the best routes for overland transportation. But these could be used only by travelers on foot or at best by horsemen and pack trains. When the need became sufficiently pressing, roads were cut through the forest, streams were bridged, and commerce was carried in wagons of various types drawn by oxen or horses. Waterways were important as routes of travel from the beginning. Many canals were built and the canal boat, barge, flatboat, keelboat and canoe carried much of the internal commerce of America one hundred years ago. Later,

the steamboat largely supplanted other boats and carried a greatly increased tonnage. Railroads were a great improvement over inland water transportation because they could be built where most needed. However, the steamboat and the freight car had to be filled with goods hauled in wagons. Thus the wagon has been an important factor in transportation. Where practical, the automobile truck has now taken the place of the wagon as a carrier of freight, and the airplane is becoming an important agent in the rapid transportation of mail and express. Our national development might be said to progress hand in hand with our methods of transportation.

The welfare of our people, especially in the large cities, and the very existence of our nation depend upon transportation. The better the facilities for transportation the greater are the possibilities for the prosperity and happiness of our people. Modern transportation, without which modern progress is impossible, depends upon good roads, good railroads, good waterways, and in an increasing degree upon well marked airways.

The situation that would occur by any one of our larger cities being entirely cut off from transportation for even two weeks is almost incomprehensible.

Early Roads. As the pioneer pushed westward across the continent he built his trading post along the streams because his produce could be sent down

stream to market. His roads were openings cut through the forest, due care being exercised to cut the stumps low. Road mileage was increased only as other settlers took up claims, as a means of communication and exchanging products. With ox teams the early settler could make three or four miles and return with loaded wagon in one day. The use of horses doubled the trade radius and the farmer could haul his grain six or eight miles to market, or by using two days, he might drive fifteen or twenty miles and return.

The roads were in charge of a local overseer, who frequently took but little interest in the six miles of road the farmers of his community had to use. When the roads were to be worked all the able bodied men of the community were "warned" to appear for road work; they assembled at a designated place on the date fixed. Each brought an ax, hoe, shovel or mattock, and one or two, a team and plow. The procession formed at one end of the section of the road to be worked and marched slowly over it, occasionally stopping to fill a ditch, remove a stump, or cut a drain. Usually the next heavy rain left the road in as bad, or probably worse, condition than it was before being worked.

Permanent Roads Before the Civil War. While the above described neighborhood road was the rule, even in the early days there were a few cases of permanent improvement of state and national highways. By the act of Congress in 1820 a na-

tional highway known as the Cumberland Road was established from Cumberland, Maryland, to St. Louis, Missouri. Construction was begun in 1806 and it was practically completed about 1840 at a cost of $6,824,919.33 to the national government. Later, some states also recognized the necessity for better roads and aided in their construction, while in many others permanent state highways were constructed by companies that were permitted to collect tolls.

During the era of railroad building, state aid to permanent state highways was no longer practical and the public highways were badly neglected under local control.

The Inefficiency of County Control. The greater part of the public roads of the country were little better in 1910 than they were in 1865 at the close of the Civil War. State aid had been granted in several states, but the location, construction and maintenance of the public highways was under the sole direction of the county or local officials. There was no organized effort to secure a general connected system of approved highways. The official records of a certain eastern state show strikingly the failure of the system of local control. During the twelve years from 1901 to 1913 this state granted state aid to local communities to assist in building improved roads, but the work was supervised as to location and kind of road by the county commissioners. During this period nine hundred and forty-

four miles of improved roads were built, the cost varying from $160 to $11,463 per mile. The most remarkable feature about the nine hundred and forty-four miles is that they were built in four thousand two hundred and two separate and disconnected sections. The sections were short, averaging one-fifth of a mile in length. A state map showing the location of these improved sections shows at a glance where the local officials and politicians lived, for most of them had a section of state road by their home.

This instance gives added force to the warning of the state highway engineer of Wisconsin who, after fourteen years of efficient service, said, "The situation facing the state highway organizations is serious, but the situation in the county highway organizations is infinitely worse. The money paid the county highway commissioner does not attract the type of man who should fill this important position. Despite all that the State Commission has preached and sought to teach, the last few years have seen but little improvement in the average county organization, while the expenditures have 'mounted apace.'"

The difficulty in securing the best results through county control is emphasized by a statement made by the Federal Director of Public Roads before a special committee of the Missouri Legislature, April 9, 1921. He said, "We are trying now to get away from having any dealings with counties on federal

aid; desiring to deal only with the state highway commission. Dealing with counties has been very unsatisfactory. If Missouri attempts to give the counties jurisdiction over road construction, or distribute the money by counties or districts, federal road aid cannot be given. The money obtained must be expended on permanent road work under the direct supervision of the state highway department."

Federal Aid and State Control in Road Building. The inefficient and wasteful system of county control has been largely supplanted since 1916 by a system of state control under federal supervision. This important change was brought about by the Federal Aid Road Law, July 11, 1916. The purposes of this act are set forth to be: "To promote agriculture, afford better facilities for rural transportation and marketing of farm products, and encourage the development of a general system of highways." This law provides that "the Secretary of Agriculture and the State Highway Department of each state shall agree upon the roads to be constructed therein and the character and method of construction."

The results of this provision are of more far-reaching importance than the financial aid allowed in the first appropriation of $75,000,000 annually for a period of five years. The establishment of a State Highway Department in each state is essential to receiving federal aid, and every state has

complied with this provision. The location and construction of every highway participating in federal aid must be under the control of expert engineers in the State Highway Department, subject to the supervision of experts in the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. Under such a system of checks by highway experts, a connected system of permanent national and state highways is being built, and in the construction of such highways the people are no longer wasting their money by building roads which will need early replacement or a high percentage of repairs.

Many states, recognizing the ever increasing importance of rapid transportation, have gone further and inaugurated definite state road programs. In 1928 the state of Illinois voted a $100,000,000 bond issue for the construction and maintenance of permanent hard roads within its borders. Through a state bond issue system, Illinois, in 1928, had completed 5,034 miles of improved, modern highways, and in addition, through federal aid, a total of 1,641 miles. The 1928 state road program for Massachusetts called for the building and re-building of highways to the extent of nearly $9,000,000. These are only two examples of state activity taking place all over the country in building wider and better roads. The advent of the automobile for the transportation of people as well as produce has stimulated interest in the improvement of highways.

Good Roads and the Automobile. Good roads, the

automobile, and the motor truck have produced a radical change in our transportation system. Before their development, the radius of trade territory for rural transportation and marketing farm products was about six miles. In fact, our fathers were so accustomed to driving six or eight miles to market that such a trade radius became strongly fixed in the minds of the American people and later determined the location of stations along the railroads. Today the automobile, motor truck and good roads have increased the radius for marketing farm products sixfold, and instead of from six to twenty miles we have from forty to one hundred twenty miles.

The combination of the good road and the automobile has enabled the farmer to market his products more easily, and provide the city consumer with fresher produce at a lower cost.

Marketing Farm Products. In an official report of the Postmaster General submitted to Congress, the following facts are given. Throughout a period of sixty-six days forty-eight parcel post shipments of staple food products were made, using motor trucks of from one to three tons capacity, between Washington, D. C., and eight surrounding towns within a range of from fifty to one hundred twenty five miles. These shipments were delivered to the consumer at a total cost for the commodities of $15,-188.32. The same articles on the same dates bought in the open market at the lowest retail price would

have cost the consumer $21,854.32. Through the parcel post shipment, therefore, there was a saving to the consumer of $6,666 or a little over thirty per cent, while the actual cost of transportation to the government was only $37.78 more than the postal receipts for their transportation. Trucking associations, where good roads insure continuous service, are in operation in many parts of the country, and farmers are enabled to deliver their products to market in less time and in better condition than formerly. The motor truck gives the farmer such an advantage in marketing his products that dairy herds are becoming more profitable and are increasing at a rapid rate. Pure milk is considered necessary in every home, and the demand for it in large cities is rapidly increasing. The motor truck and good roads mean better milk for the children of our cities, the saving of many lives, as well as increased profits to the farmers.

Automobile Traffic Problems. The automobile has brought about many changes in our standard of living and also many problems to solve. The great number of cars used daily in private and commercial travel has crowded the widest of our highways and necessitated the enactment of many traffic laws and regulations to bring about orderly and systematic movement. *Stop signals* at many of the street and road crossings take the place of policemen in safely guiding the movement of traffic. Regulation of speed, licensing of cars and drivers,

education in safety, uniform traffic laws throughout the country, wider thoroughfares, upkeep and durability of highways, and parking accommodations are all difficult problems which must be solved in order that the people may receive the greatest pleasure and use from their automobiles.

Importance of Good Roads. Good roads mean better markets for the farmer and better products for his customers. They increase the size of the farmer's neighborhood; they bring to the rural community the advantages of the city without its noise and confusion. They make possible a wider acquaintance with daily world events.

They mean better rural schools. The solution of the rural school problem depends largely upon good roads. In communities which have good roads, much progress has already been made in giving country boys and girls a better education. Consolidated schools, replacing the old time one-room rural school, have increased in number and importance at a rapid rate in those sections.

But good roads are not only to the interest of the farmer. They provide an important means of transportation to the city dweller, who, if necessary, may now go as far as thirty miles to his work and return home in the evening of the same day. Nor are all the great highways built for commercial transportation only. Many lead to our national parks and the beauty spots of practically every state. To make travel by automobile more com-

fortable, attractive tourist camps have been established throughout the country. Some of these are maintained by the state, others by the local community or non-profit making organizations, such as

A Train of Motor Trucks. They are used for transporting freight over an improved road. This method of transportation is increasing rapidly.

the Chambers of Commerce, and still others by private individuals interested in increasing their yearly profits by the fees collected for the privilege of using their accommodations. This increased travel on the part of the people gives them a better acquaintance with various parts of the country and

tends toward a more general and sympathetic understanding of mutual problems.

Railroad Transportation. The chief arteries of commerce in the United States are the railroads. Our great cities were made possible largely through railroad transportation and their existence in a great measure depends upon it. The motor truck, the canal, the inland rivers, or the airplane, cannot under present conditions take the place of the railroads as the great trunk lines of commerce in this country. Their great power over the welfare of our people has made government regulation necessary. Our government has, therefore, asserted the right to regulate railroads so far as is necessary for the public good. The government, by act of Congress sustained by Supreme Court decisions, has asserted the right to fix the rates which the railroads can charge and the wages which they shall pay.

The Interstate Commerce Commission. Under the Constitution, Congress has power to regulate interstate commerce. (See Art. 1, Section 8.) After the Supreme Court decided that this section of the Constitution included the power to fix railroad rates, Congress created a body known as the Interstate Commerce Commission to act as its agent in performing this duty. This commission consists of eleven members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Not only rate making but

general powers of inspection and supervision which Congress deems necessary for the government to exercise over railroads in the interests of the people are conferred upon the Interstate Commerce

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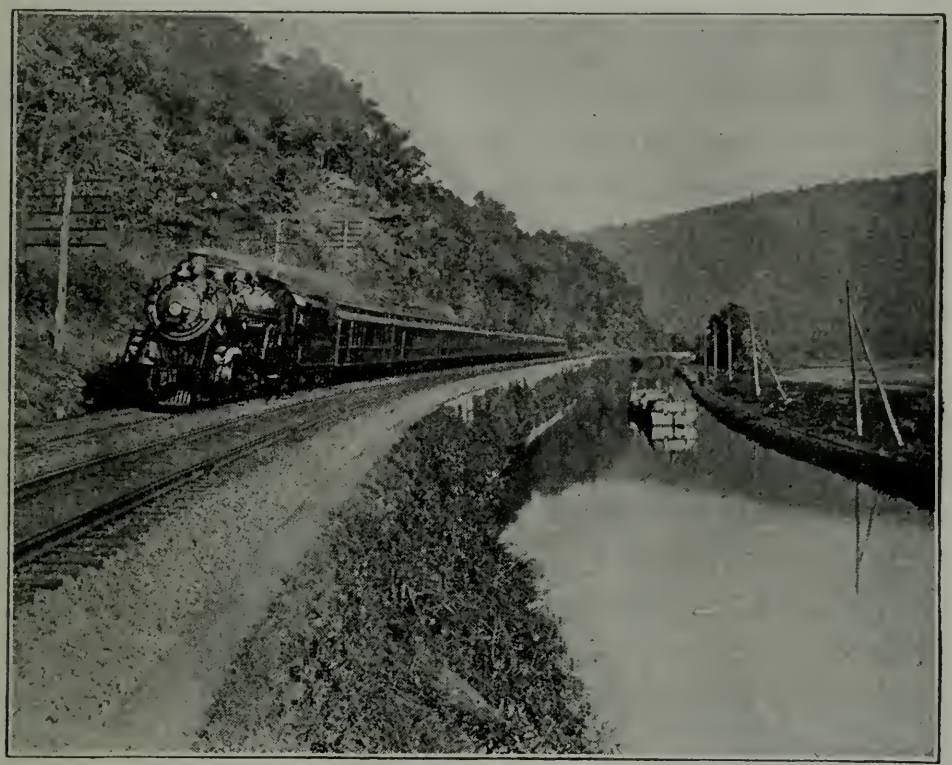
A Horse-Drawn Car. A century ago, a typical passenger car on one of our leading railroads looked like this. Naturally, little government regulation was needed.

Commission. In 1906 Congress passed the Hepburn Act which extended the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission over all public utilities which operate between states, among them the express, steamship, telephone, and telegraph companies.

State Public Service Commissions. While the

Supreme Court has decided that the United States government has the power to fix interstate rates it has also decided that the various state governments have the right to fix rates between two points with-



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A Modern Passenger Train. This illustration shows a modern passenger train owned by the same railroad as the horse car pictured on the opposite page.

in a state. Most of the state governments have created commissions usually called public service commissions and made them agents of the states in all dealings with public service corporations.

Increased Rates and Wages. During the World War the Director-General, acting for the President,

operated the roads as one system. The advantages of unified control and operation proved to be very great. The railroads rendered splendid service and contributed their full share in helping to win the war.

At the time the government took control of the railroads, January 7, 1918, the wages of railroad employees had not been increased since before the beginning of the European War. Soon the Director-General announced an increase in wages. A few days later rates were raised. Other increases both in wages and rates were necessary, but during government control receipts did not equal operating expenses. The deficit was met by appropriations made by Congress. The actual loss to the United States in operation of the railroads had by August 7, 1921, amounted to $1,452,605,245 and in addition to that the government has loaned the roads $655,913,487. After the war the expenses of operation continued to increase. The sentiment of the country favored the return of the roads to their owners. But the principle of government regulation of both rates and wages had been established before the war. The life of the nation depended upon railroad transportation. It was clearly the duty of Congress to solve the problem in such a way as to insure good transportation service for the people and a fair return to the owners of the roads.

The Transportation Act of 1920. This was one of the most difficult problems our government has ever

been called upon to solve. After a long discussion a transportation act known as the Esch-Cummins law was passed. This law increased the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and made it the agent of the government in dealing with the railroads. The law requires the commission to determine rates and says, "It shall give consideration to the transportation needs of the country" and to "enlarging such facilities in order to provide the people of the United States with adequate transportation." The law makes it the duty of the commission to fix a rate that will produce a net income of five and one-half per cent upon a fair valuation of the railroad property and if in the judgment of the commission it is best they may fix the rate high enough to bring a net income of six per cent and require the extra one-half per cent to be used to improve the railroads. The difficult problem of the commission is to find a fair value.

The Railroad Labor Board. The Transportation Act of 1920 also provides for a board of nine to be known as the Railroad Labor Board. The members of this board are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, but the President must appoint three from men nominated by the railroad employees and three from men nominated by the railroad companies. He is free to choose any one he thinks will best represent the interests of the public for the other three members. The board was organized April 16, 1920. It has been successful in

adjusting a number of very difficult disputes that have developed between laborers and the companies.

Improvement in Railroad Management. The railroad management has been greatly improved in recent years. In the period before the Great War the big men in railroad management were men of great wealth who had secured their positions by owning or controlling a large part of the property. Now the typical railroad president is a practical railroad man who has had long experience in railroading. Great improvement and more efficient service have resulted from this change in type of management. These men do all they can to co-operate with our government in solving great transportation problems of the country.

Railroad Problems. 1. *What Should Railroads Earn?* The problem of how much money railroads should be allowed to earn is very difficult of solution. It is hard to determine what railroad property itself has cost or what it is worth. The Interstate Commerce Commission has studied the problem, but until the value of railroad property has been determined, it will not be possible to agree as to what would be fair earnings.

2. *Labor and the Railroads.* Labor problems are likewise hard to settle. How many hours a day shall railroad employees work? How much shall they receive per hour? If a run is long so that an engineer or conductor must be on duty more than a fair working day, what arrangements should be

made? Such problems as these are constantly calling for solution.

3. *Freight and Passenger Rates.* Should freight and passenger rates be charged in proportion to distance alone? How much should be added for transferring from one road to another? Should railroads be permitted to charge lower rates between cities connected by waterways than between points equally distant connected by railway only?

4. *Railroad Schedules.* Should railroads make their train schedules for the accommodation of the public or to keep business away from competing lines?

These are some of the problems of American railroads. Because of the difficulty of finding solutions, some persons have suggested government ownership and control; others insist that politics in the bad sense of the word would enter into operation by the government. Whether roads are owned by private companies or by the nation, government regulation is needed in solving the problems.

Modern Water Transportation. The United States has about twenty-six thousand miles of navigable rivers. These are not being used for commerce to any great extent. The possibilities of cheap water transportation for heavy freight on our rivers seem to be almost unlimited. As the prosperity of our country depends upon its commerce our government has the problem of providing for the greatest possible use of our waterways to promote the gen-

eral welfare of our people. The largest expenditure of money ever considered for the improvement of rivers and harbors is outlined in the proposed Inland Waterway System which will provide a course for sea going vessels from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico via the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. Such a program will make it possible to ship millions of tons of freight down the Mississippi.

To emphasize the possibilities of water transportation, the government has built forty steel barges, each of two thousand tons capacity, and six steam tow-boats of eighteen hundred horsepower for use on the Mississippi River. One of the tow-boats, the Natchez, has carried 6,000 tons of freight from New Orleans to St. Louis in twelve days, and she has carried 12,000 tons of freight from St. Louis to New Orleans in six days. Our government is operating the barge line on the Mississippi to demonstrate the practicability of river transportation under modern conditions. The barge line is allowed to charge only eighty per cent of the low competing rates charged by railroads which parallel the river. The rate of the barge line is about fifty per cent of the average railroad rate of the country. Yet the barge line is making a good net profit. The success of this demonstration of river transportation by our government indicates that wise use of our waterways may greatly increase our prosperity.

The Airplane. The most recent contribution to

rapid transportation is the airplane, an American invention. Many years ago people dreamed of flying but the first efforts were not very successful. Profiting by the experiences of venturesome men who had gone before, Samuel P. Langley built a plane in which he succeeded in flying across the Potomac River in 1896. His second attempt to fly, however, was a failure and he made no further experiments. Wilbur and Orville Wright were the first to design a practical plane and their first successful flight was made in 1903 at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. This first momentous flight lasted but twelve seconds and covered only 120 feet, but it proved that man might fly.

The development of the airplane progressed gradually until the World War when all the warring nations competed in its manufacture and its advancement and perfection sped ahead. In 1916 the United States government owned 13 planes. When the armistice was signed the United States had produced nearly 14,000 planes, purchased 6,000 from the Allies, and trained about 10,000 pilots. The result of continued improvement and experimentation is the airplane as we have it today, a machine that has successfully flown across the ocean and one that is capable of remaining in the air for long periods of time.

Federal Aids to Aviation. The varied uses of the airplane during the World War indicated to what great advantage it might be used in normal times.

Scheduled traffic over regular routes has been inaugurated and planes traverse from coast to coast, night and day, carrying mail, express, and passengers. In 1924 the first regular trans-continental air mail route was established by the government between New York and San Francisco, and the trip was made in the actual flying time of twenty-five hours. In 1928 Congress gave the Postmaster-General authority to contract for foreign air mail service when in his judgment it would be for the good of the people. Within a year following, air mail service was in effect between the United States and Cuba and the United States and points in Central America. The companies carrying mail receive federal aid

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Aerial Beacon. In nearly all large cities, beacons are placed on the tallest buildings for the guidance of airplane traffic. This picture shows the aerial beacon on the Roanoke Tower in Chicago.

representing the difference between air mail postage revenue and the contract compensation. In addition, airways are being marked and lighted at government expense, and local communities are providing adequate landing fields.

The Air Commerce Act of 1926. Recognizing the importance of aviation to the welfare of the people, Congress, in 1926, passed the Air Commerce Act which established a definite commercial air policy and placed its administration under the Department of Commerce. Among the duties of this department are the making of traffic rules for all aircraft, the licensing of aircraft and pilots engaged in interstate commerce, the establishment of air routes and beacons, and general powers of inspection and supervision.

Uses of the Airplane. The airplane is daily assuming greater importance in everyday life, through the carrying of mail, express, and passengers. The industry created by the manufacture of the airplane has supplied employment for many, as have the new fields of allied industries, such as aerial photography and aviation schools. The uses of the airplane for pleasure and business are increasing daily.

The lighter-than-air craft must not, however, be overlooked. That it will also have an important place in air transportation has already been demonstrated by the Graf Zeppelin which successfully concluded the first commercial trans-Atlantic flight.

Co-ordination of Motor, Waterway, Railroad, and

Air Transportation. From what has been said about highways, railroads, water transportation, and aviation, it is evident that our government is interested in promoting all these types of transportation. Realizing the necessity for good highways in the everyday life of our people and their importance as a bond of union between the states, the national government has passed important legislation which has resulted in a great network of good roads covering the nation. Millions of dollars have been spent for federal supervision and aid in road construction, thus fostering cordial feelings between the various sections of our nation and enabling the people to enjoy a higher standard of living through the use of the automobile. Railroads have always been promoted by all divisions of our government; Congress has given many millions of acres of the public lands to railroad companies, and states, cities, counties, and townships have voted untold millions in bonds to promote railroad construction.

The appropriation bills of every Congress for many years have carried heavy appropriations for the improvements of rivers and harbors. The United States government built the steel barge line now operating on the Mississippi at a cost of nearly $6,000,000. Congress in the Esch-Cummins bill declared it to be the policy of Congress "to promote, encourage and develop water transportation, service and facilities, in connection with the commerce of the United States and to foster and preserve in

full vigor both rail and water transportation." The various branches of the federal government have taken a constantly increasing interest in aviation as a means of defense and commercial progress, and have contributed in a liberal measure to its development.

Undoubtedly the future prosperity of the country depends upon the fullest development of all four methods of transportation and their co-ordination rather than in their destructive competition. The motor trucks may take most of the short haul freight business from the railroads, but they will serve more and more as feeders for the railroads. Water lines of transportation may take the carrying of freight such as coal, cotton and building materials from the railroads where water transportation is available, but the water lines, too, will become feeders of the railroads. As commerce grows, the perishable freight and high priced merchandise for which speed is important and rates high will continue to go upon the railroads unless very great dispatch is essential in which case they will "take to the air."

Experience in Europe has shown that when waterways are developed the operation of rail lines which parallel the rivers becomes very profitable because of the high class of freight carried. The wealth of our nation, our ability to defend ourselves in time of war, and the happiness and well-being of our people demand that we make the

fullest use of motor, rail, water, and air transportation. Every citizen should realize the importance of good roads, the great saving in the wise use of our waterways, the vital necessity for efficient railroads, and the possibilities of aviation.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Notice how transportation has developed from the old pioneer road and ox team to the present extensive routes by water, land, and air.

2. Notice that the demand for better transportation has brought about rapid improvement in public highways, railroad, water, and air routes.

3. Observe that the government encourages improvement in transportation facilities because of its effect on the welfare of the people.

4. Note that good roads enable the farmer to market his products more quickly and at less expense.

Test Exercises

Match the items in the first column with those in the second column by placing their numbers together on a separate piece of paper.

1. National government.	1. Built early roads.
2. State government.	2. Carries freight over public highways.
3. County government.	3. Represented national government in the operation of all railroads.
4. Interstate Commerce Commission.	4. Fastest means of transportation.
5. Railroad Labor Board.	5. Controls road construction.
6. Trucks.	6. Lighter-than-air craft.
7. Railroads.	7. Aids states in road construction.
8. Director General	8. Fixes interstate railroad rates.
9. Railroad problem.	9. Composed of representatives of the railroads, the

	railroad employees, and the public.
10. Water transportation.	10. Chief arteries of commerce.
11. Air transportation.	11. Railroad schedule.
12. Graf Zeppelin.	12. Carries heavy freight cheaply.

Suggested Activities

1. Find out how many miles of paved road there are in your state outside the cities. Find out the number of miles in your county.

2. Find out the location of the airport nearest your home. Is regular passenger service carried on from this airport?

3. Suppose you wanted to make a long trip by automobile. Find out where you would go to get information as to the condition of roads, camp sites, etc.

4. Make a list of all the things that you use during the day that are necessary for your health and comfort. Separate this list into two groups, those which transportation supplies for you and those which you could have without transportation.

CHAPTER XXI

CO-OPERATION IN GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

primitive peoples, 308.
philanthropic, 312.
individual liberty, 314.
conservation, 316.

You must understand these words as you read this chapter. Look them up in the Explanation of Terms.

As You Read This Chapter

Be sure you understand that almost everything we undertake is done in co-operation with others, and that without co-operation our civilization could not have advanced to its present stage.

Working Together. The work of our government is accomplished through co-operation—working together. Each for all and all for each is what renders great achievement possible in all things. The lone cave man could have only a crude shelter; it requires co-operation to build a modern house. Because savage tribes are not able to unite large groups in common efforts, their members must take things for the most part as they find them; civilized man through co-operation makes his environment according to his ambitions, soon overcoming obstacles which block the progress of primitive peoples.

Leaders and Followers. Co-operation requires wise leadership and loyal followers. This is another way of saying that civilization depends upon specialization. Most of us may reasonably think of

ourselves as specialists in one occupation though we may know very little about others. The skillful carpenter is his own leader in work which requires no one else to direct him; the same workman may be a follower when he makes a railroad journey. His leaders may then be the conductor or the man who answers questions at the information office.

Progress is made because of wise or inventive leaders but it is made no less on account of followers wise enough to select the right leaders to imitate. The fact that a strong or brilliant person finds an improved way of doing something useful has little value unless his fellows wisely choose his leadership; the strongest or wisest accomplish little alone. As an example of co-operation in relation to progress, the art of writing is very interesting. Picture-writing came first; then someone found that a much simpler mark than any picture could stand for an idea just as well. Then marks which we call letters were used to indicate sounds and almost all the world followed this improvement; and it seems to be only a question of time until the same letters will be used everywhere. Only the co-operation of leader and follower brings about progress.

Co-operation requires obedience to those who have the right to lead. In a mountain climbing excursion only a very foolish person would refuse to follow the guide. We elect officers and give them the right to command or direct us; the good citizen

recognizes their leadership. Co-operation often requires us to do as others of the group are doing even though no one commands. If it is the custom to stand while singing or to remove the hat while the flag is passing, only rudeness or ignorance causes one of a group not to conform or do as his fellows do. This is very different from saying that all should follow in doing a wrong action. The good citizen is willing to co-operate in doing things that should be done.

Strangers to Each Other May Be Working Together. Co-operation includes groups who may not know other groups with whom they are working. The farmer grows grain, the railroads carry it to a city mill; the miller makes it into food products which may be further changed by the baker; in its refined form the grain is good for the factory worker who makes farm machinery, which is in turn carried by the railroads to the farmer who produces the grain. The newspaper you read depends for its news items upon reporters who never see their readers, who may not even see the editors, compositors, and typesetters who assemble the paper. If you should write the names or occupations of all the unseen and unknown persons who made your breakfast or lunch possible, the list would be very long. Truly no one lives unto himself and our government guides and protects us all.

Co-operation in Business. People have worked together in a general way by means of trade and

commerce since the days of the cave men; with all well developed civilizations men have organized in special groups for the purpose of co-operating in business. The greater part of our trade and commerce, as well as our great industrial plants are conducted by these organized groups; some of them are composed of a few men, partners in the business—each owning a fractional share, but each of whom is responsible for the debts of the firm; others may be composed of any number of persons; each puts into the business a definite sum of money and is not responsible for the debts of the group beyond a certain amount. This type of an organized business group is called a corporation and people who put money into the business are known as stockholders. Usually the stockholder is not responsible for the debts of the corporation beyond the amount of the stock which he holds. Manufacturing, transportation, commerce, mining, insurance, in fact practically all business which requires a large investment of capital, is carried on by corporations. Many of these business corporations have thousands of stockholders; their stock may be transferred from one person to another and can be bought on the stock market. Anyone who has money enough to buy one share may become a stockholder. Corporations may issue bonds—that is, give interest bearing notes of the corporation and sell them to anyone who wants to buy. The persons who buy these bonds are known as bond-

holders of the corporation. Many thousand different persons may hold bonds in a large corporation. The stockholders and bondholders of a corporation have a personal interest in the success of the business.

Co-operation for Play and Work. A baseball, basket ball, or football team is a voluntary organization for co-operation in play and recreation. Any member of a football team understands the advantage of working together to win the game. The advantage of co-operation in work is fully as great as it is in play.

There is frequently much work in a community or among a group of people in the same work which concerns everyone in the community or group but for which no one in particular is responsible. Such work is done by a voluntary organization of people in the community or group. The Red Cross, Bankers Associations, Medical Associations, Farmers' Organizations, like the Farm Bureau and the Grange; health and welfare associations, such as the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, are examples of co-operation in groups.

These organizations represent a wide variety of activity ranging from the purely philanthropic, like the Red Cross, to those whose avowed purpose is the welfare and protection of the members of a certain group, such as Labor Unions. Many of them are working for both the welfare of society as a whole and the advancement of their own group.

For example, the Medical Associations have stimulated research work and spread medical knowledge which has made possible the control of disease and an increase in the average length of human life. This, of course, is of great value to all people; at the same time medical associations have done much for the betterment of the medical profession. Many of these volunteer organizations study the problems with which they are confronted and propose and push laws in both Congress and the state legislatures which have to do with the work they are doing. Much of our legislation is developed in this way. For example, many of our state laws that provide for the organization of our elementary and high schools and the establishment of our normal schools and teachers' colleges have originated in Teachers' Associations. Frequently some voluntary organization undertakes work that is of value to the entire community. After a time a majority of the community becomes convinced that the work is worthwhile and through its representatives provides for doing the work through some unit of government. Much of the work the government does originated in this way.

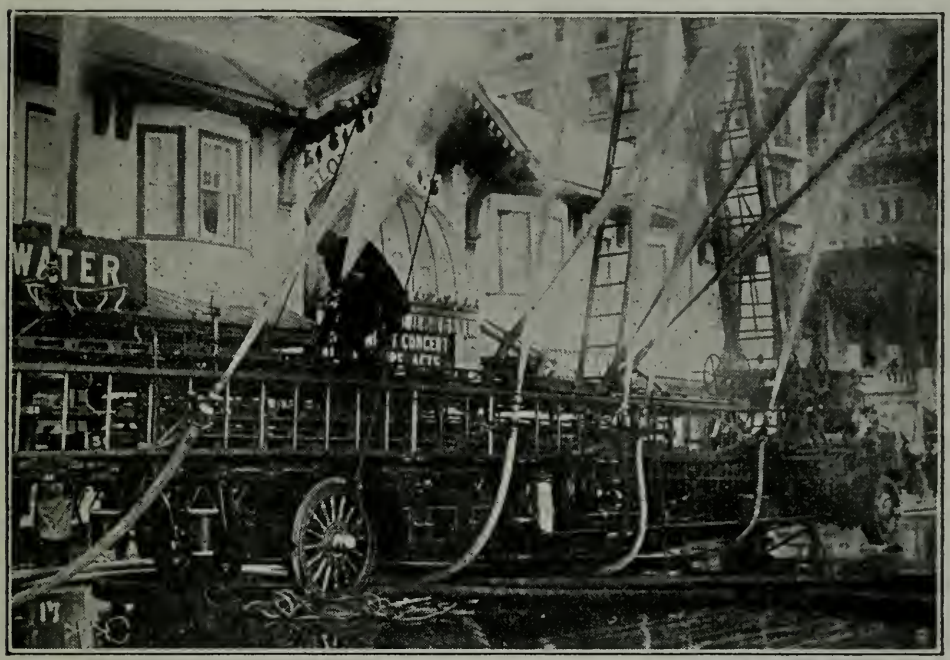
Work We Do Through Our Government. Our government is the greatest co-operative undertaking which a free people has ever carried on. The makers of the Constitution and the leaders in the thirteen original colonies could not dream of the many things a government now does for those who

support it. Many of these leaders believed that the less the government did for us the better, so long as it guaranteed individual liberty. When Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death," he was not in favor of giving our government a great deal of power, nor as it now seems to us of expecting much from it, except protection from foreign powers and maintaining good order at home. Throughout our history parties have differed as to how many services the people should expect their government to render; now we look to the government to do everything which we cannot do at all, or which we think it can do better than individuals can. Many of our political discussions still have to do with what we should undertake by means of our government.

Co-operation for Protection. 1. *Protection Against Foreign Powers.* Savage tribes spent a large part of their energy in defense against other tribes; protection against another nation or people still calls forth the supreme degree of co-operation. It was a common foe which united the thirteen colonies, and nothing drives people into co-operation so unitedly as threatened invasion. The national government leads us in union for defense.

2. *Protection Within the United States.* In cave man days and sometimes in frontier settlements, everyone protected himself against everyone else. The United States, the states, counties, and cities all have a share in keeping the peace. We have also

meat, milk, and other kinds of food inspection and public provision for safeguarding health. Fire protection and factory inspection are for the preservation of human life and safety.



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A Fire Engine. One of the most necessary services that government performs is that of giving us fire protection. This is a fire engine at work. You will notice the great streams of water being thrown on a burning building.

Co-operation in Useful Service. Good roads, schools, libraries, playgrounds, parks and bathing beaches, and all public institutions for caring for the unfortunates are examples of co-operation in useful service. It has been shown that the building of permanent roads requires the co-operation of nation, state, and local authorities. Our schools

derive their income from state and local sources. Libraries, playgrounds, and parks are maintained in our cities through the expenditure of government funds and the care of those who are not able to take care of themselves has been recognized as a government problem and is usually carried on through state institutions, except in the case of homes for the poor in which the whole county co-operates to provide a suitable home.

Co-operation in Conservation. When America was being settled it abounded in great forests. The woods and prairies were full of game. The streams and lakes everywhere supplied fish in great abundance. In many parts of the country trees were a hindrance to making a living. They were felled, piled together, and burned to make farming possible. Everyone killed game without restriction. We were very late in realizing that only the energetic action of our government could save a share of these resources for those who will live even in the near future. The United States has set aside forest reserves and established ranger's stations to save the enormous amount of destruction of timber by fire, which was once looked upon without the slightest alarm. National and state laws protect game. In such cases of conservation our co-operation saves ourselves from ourselves individually.

Co-operation in Research and Progress. Our national government through such departments as that of agriculture is constantly experimenting to

find new and better means of doing our work and increasing protection. When a new plant is developed or a new means of combating an insect pest discovered, progressive farmers first and others very soon, reap the benefit.

Problems of Co-operation in Government Activities. Can government work be as efficiently carried on as work done by individuals or groups working directly for themselves? Can all be made to realize that government money is just as hard to raise as is the money of others, and that it is as dishonest to beat the government as to cheat your best friend? Shall we willingly follow the leadership of those we elect to guide us? These are questions the answers to which will determine the extent to which we may profitably expect our government to work for us. They are the real tests of everyday patriotism.

"What kind of country would this country be
If every countryman were just like me!"

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Observe that the successful operation of government depends upon the complete co-operation of all concerned.

2. Note that it is possible to co-operate with people we never see.

3. Co-operation is the most important element in our civilization.

Test Exercises

Write your answers to these questions on a separate sheet of paper. Answer by *Yes* or *No*.

1. Does co-operation require wise leadership and loyal followers?
2. Does co-operation require obedience?

3. Does co-operation with others require that you know them?
4. Does a successful business require co-operation?
5. Can our government be carried on without the co-operation of its citizens?
6. As our wants and needs increase, does the necessity for co-operation decrease?
7. Is it as dishonest to cheat the government as it is to cheat your best friend?
8. Does good citizenship require that we follow the leadership of our officials?
9. Is your class a co-operative organization?
10. Can your class do its best work without co-operating with other classes?
11. Can you go through one day without co-operating with others?
12. Does co-operation increase our individual liberty?

Suggested Activities

1. Divide the class into three committees and let each committee work out a plan for co-operation in your school, which you think will improve the school. Let each committee present its plan to the whole class, and then vote on the selection of the best one.

2. Write a short paragraph showing how better co-operation of individual citizens with the various units of government would reduce crime, increase the amount of money available for public improvements, and increase our happiness.

3. Write a short paragraph showing how co-operation between nations would prevent great wars, release us from the heavy burdens of debt, and lessen the expense of preparation for future wars.

CHAPTER XXII

THE HERITAGE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

As You Read This Chapter

Be sure you understand the great privileges and duties of American citizenship.

Our Inheritance of Citizenship. We all know persons who have received property by inheritance. Many of us may not expect an inheritance of property, but there is another kind of inheritance for each of us of greater value than we can know or estimate. That is the inheritance of American citizenship.

Through our study of this book we have learned what it means to be an American citizen and that the privileges of American citizenship are the outgrowth of centuries of struggle. We have seen how representative government originated and have learned that through our national and state constitutions the fundamental elements of liberty and representative government are secured to the people.

Our government is a co-operative enterprise and if it is to be conducted in the interests of all the people, each individual must bear his part in an intelligent, honest, and efficient manner. To do our part, to have and to enjoy the protection and privileges made secure by this government, is our inheritance as American citizens. To do our part we

must exercise self control. Otherwise it will cost our community much to force us, through external government, to do what our inner feelings should guide us in doing. Thus we see that much control must take place within the individual citizen. Law enforcement in this sense is accomplished without the courts and other governmental machinery.

Our Intellectual Inheritance. Chief among the treasures of our inheritance is the wisdom of all the ages. The learning of the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the records of the monk in his monastery; the stories, poems, plays, and historical records by the wisest men of all times are here available.

Knowledge is acquired through trial and experience. Once acquired it may be transmitted from one person to another and from one generation to the next. In very early times the only way men could transmit knowledge was by the spoken word or by signs. The only way one generation could give knowledge to the next was to give it to the children who remembered it and in turn passed it on to the next generation. But after a long time, a system of writing was developed and knowledge could then be recorded and passed on. This was long, long ago and many generations of people have lived, discovered many things, and recorded their experiences in writing. The Greeks studied and learned much. They wrote many poems, plays, histories, and works on philosophy. The Romans

through nearly a thousand years had a great government; they made and wrote many laws. Much of this written knowledge was kept in libraries and monasteries. For a thousand years after the great Roman state ceased to exist the scholars of Europe were keeping records and writing books. A short time before Columbus discovered America, the printing press was invented. Books became cheaper and many more people could have them. For the past four hundred years the experiences of the human race have been written into books—and our government through its development of schools and libraries, and its guarantee of freedom of the press has placed this accumulation of the world's knowledge within the reach of every American. While we may choose only a part of this great wealth of learning, it is here for us to have and to enjoy if we will.

Our Religious Inheritance. Religion has been important in the development of civilization. Many kinds of religion have been developed by the human race. The countries from which our ancestors came once had state churches established by the government; all were required to belong to the same state church. Many came to America so they could worship God as they pleased. In the Constitution of the United States we find the guarantee of religious freedom. Thus America has become the refuge for those persecuted because of religious beliefs and her citizens have access to all the leading churches.

The *Bible* with its teachings and our churches with their beautiful forms of worship may be called our religious inheritance. The American idea that all should be allowed to worship as they choose is now found in every civilized country. America led in bringing about religious freedom. This is one of the most valuable parts of the heritage of an American citizen.

Our Material Inheritance. We have the great natural resources of the American continent. Its rich soil, its great forests, its immense beds of coal, its precious metals, its useful minerals, its wells of oil, its waterways, and its abundant supply of building materials give the people of America the greatest opportunity ever offered in the world's history to build great cities, to establish large industries, to make attractive homes—to become a contented, happy people.

The development of these resources has made possible great industries giving employment to millions. In no other country can so great a proportion of the people find work at reasonable wages, nowhere else in the world can so nearly all live in comfortable homes and have such an abundance of food.

Our Political Inheritance. Government in America has preserved and developed the best in civilization. You hold the key that unlocks the door to its enjoyment — American Citizenship. The Dec-

laration of Independence made possible the heritage of the American citizen; the Constitution of the United States has long safeguarded this treasure and stands as a guarantee of its security. To keep this inheritance even more safe, the Constitutional Amendments and our state constitutions bar the way to its violation.

Representative government developed through centuries of struggle, plainly written into our constitutional law, made familiar by more than a hundred years of use, stands as a valuable gift from our fathers and gives to the American citizen a priceless heritage. Liberty under law, guarded by our Constitution, upheld by our courts, respected by our officials, and enjoyed by all is the American's political birthright.

The Inheritance of National Kinship. The principles for which Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Lincoln stood have become a vital part of our national spirit. Courage in the face of difficulties, loyalty to truth, sympathy, honor, generosity, these interwoven with a love of country and a spirit of service are most precious, having been protected again and again by the achievement of the American soldier.

Clean and wholesome are the American ideals, free from superstition and oppression. The memory of national heroes, of great events of national history, together with the living, throbbing person-

alities of our great leaders reach into the most remote corners of our nation and are an inspiration to Americans everywhere.

Looking Forward. These inheritances are not to be hoarded; rather open wide the door that those less fortunate may share. They will gain a richer meaning if we pour their wealth into the hands of coming generations. Development of our air routes and waterways, extension of our railroads, the education of our people, the conservation of our natural resources, and human life can have only one result—a richer, happier land.

As unselfish service throughout the ages has created these treasures and kept them secure for us, so must we, through a life of active, unselfish service to our community and to our nation, keep these treasures safe for the America that is yet to be.

Test and Study Exercises

Aids to Learning

1. Note that you have inherited citizenship in the greatest co-operative government in the world, which citizenship carries with it a great intellectual, religious, and material inheritance.

2. Remember that a good citizen does not hoard these inheritances, but through his active, intelligent service enriches them and thereby makes his community a more wholesome place in which to live.

Test Exercises

On a separate sheet of paper write the words missing in the following paragraph.

Our government is a co-operative enterprise and if it is to be conducted in the interests of _____ the people, each _____ must bear his part in an intelligent, honest, and efficient manner. To

do our _____ we must exercise self-direction in accordance with rules and _____ which we have established through _____ representatives. Citizenship in this government has brought with it the privilege of enjoying the wisdom of all the ages. We have _____ freedom for the enjoyment of the Bible and the churches with their beautiful forms of _____. The great material _____ of the country makes possible great industries and the employment of many people. As unselfish _____ throughout the ages has created these treasures and kept them secure for us, so must we, through a life of active, _____ service to our community and to our nation, keep these _____ safe for the America that is yet to be.

Suggested Activities

1. (a) Study the following quotations and be prepared to tell in your own words what each one means to you. (b) Memorize the one you like best.

"Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Respect for the authority of this government, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty."

—George Washington

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the 'patriots of seventy-six' did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his liberty, and his sacred honor."

—Abraham Lincoln

"We Americans can only do our allotted task well if we face it steadily and bravely, seeing but not fearing the dangers. Above all we must stand shoulder to shoulder, not asking as to the ancestry or creed of our comrades, but only demanding that they be in truth Americans, and that we all work together, heart, hand and head, for the honor and the greatness of our common country."

—Theodore Roosevelt

2. Appoint three speakers on each side to debate this question: Resolved, That our intellectual inheritance is more valuable than our material inheritance.

THE FLAG*

History of the Flag. The American Flag is the third oldest of the National Standards of the world; older than the Union Jack of Britain or the Tricolor of France.

(The Flag was first authorized by Congress, June 14, 1777.) This date is now observed as Flag Day throughout America.

The Flag was first flown from Fort Stanwix, on the site of the present city of Rome, New York, on August 3, 1777. It was first under fire three days later in the battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777.

It was first decreed that there should be a star and a stripe for each state, making thirteen of both; for the states at that time had just been erected from the original thirteen colonies.

After Vermont and Kentucky had been admitted to the Union, the number of stars and of stripes was raised to fifteen in correspondence. As other states came into the Union it became evident there would be too many stripes. So in 1818 Congress enacted that the number of stripes be reduced and restricted henceforth to thirteen, representing the thirteen original states; while a star should be added for each succeeding state. That law is the law of today.

The Flag was first carried in battle at the Brandywine, September 11, 1777. It first flew over foreign territory, January 28, 1778, at Nassau, Bahama Islands; Fort Nassau having been captured by the Americans in the course of the war for independence. The first foreign salute to the Flag was rendered by the French Admiral, La Motte Piquet, off Quiberon Bay, February 13, 1778.

The Flag first rose over thirteen states along the Atlantic seaboard, with a population of some three million people. Today it flies over forty-eight states extending across the continent, and over great islands of the two oceans; and one hundred thirty millions owe it allegiance. It has been brought to this proud position by love and sacrifice. Citizens

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** All the material on the Flag is used by courtesy of and special permission from The American Legion.—Publishers.*

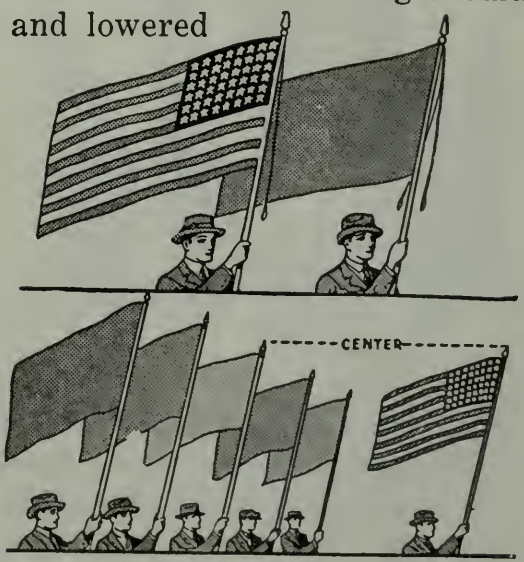
have advanced it and heroes have died for it. It is the sign made visible of the strong spirit that has brought liberty and prosperity to the people of America. It is the Flag of all of us alike. Let us accord it honor and loyalty.

On Flag Day, June 14, 1922, representatives of over 68 organizations met in Washington for a conference, called by and conducted under the auspices of The National Americanism Commission of The American Legion, to draft an authentic code of flag etiquette. The code drafted by that conference is printed on the following pages.

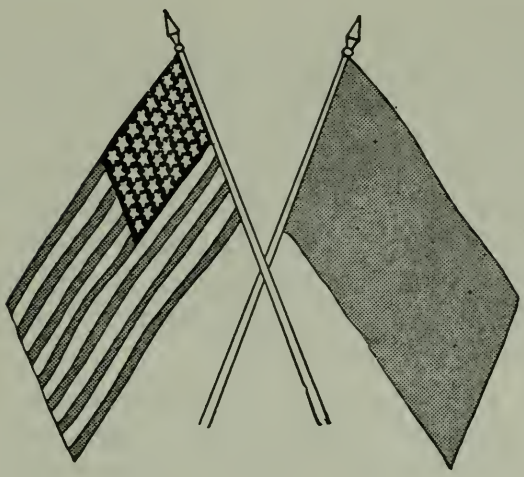
How to Display the Flag. There are certain fundamental rules of heraldry which, if understood generally, would indicate the proper method of displaying the Flag. The matter becomes a very simple one if it is kept in mind that the National Flag represents the living country and is itself considered as a living thing. The union of the Flag is the honor point; the right arm is the sword arm, and therefore the point of danger and hence the place of honor.

1. The Flag should be displayed only from sunrise to sunset, or between such hours as may be designated by proper authority. It should be displayed on national and state holidays and on historic and special occasions. The Flag should always be hoisted briskly and lowered slowly and ceremoniously.

2. When carried in a procession with another flag or flags, the Flag of the United States should be either on the marching right, i.e., the Flag's own right, or when there is a line of other flags the Flag of the United States may be in front of the center of that line.

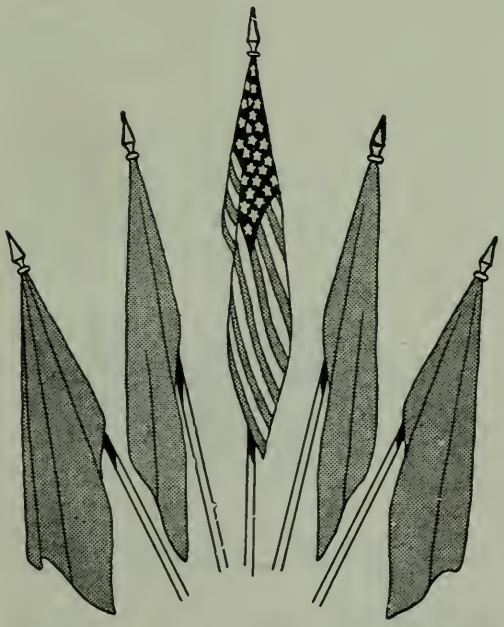


3. When displayed



with another flag against a wall, from crossed staffs, the Flag of the United States should be on the right, the Flag's own right, and its staff should be in front of the staff of the other flag.

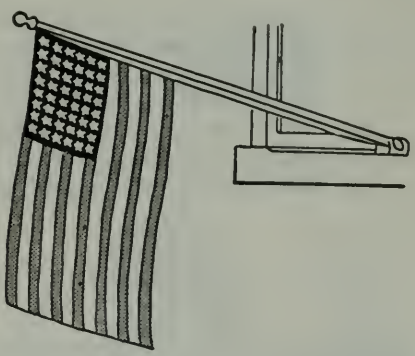
4. When a number of flags are grouped and displayed from staffs, the Flag of the United States should be in the center or at the highest point of the group.



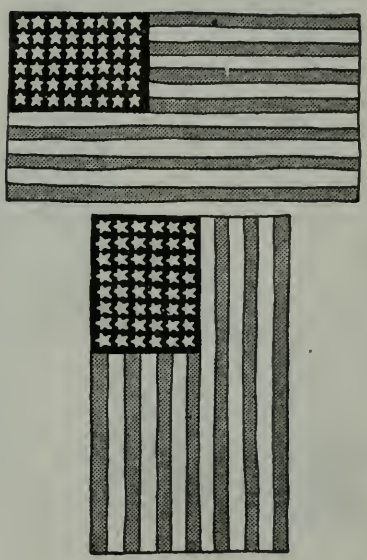
5. When flags of states or cities or pennants of societies are flown on the same halyard with the Flag of the United States, the National Flag should always be at the peak. When flown from adjacent staffs, the Flag of the United States should be hoisted first. No flag or pennant should be placed above or to the right of the Flag of the United States.

6. When flags of two or more nations are displayed, they should be flown from separate staffs of the same height and the flags should be of approximately equal size. (International usage forbids the display of the flag of one nation above that of another nation in time of peace.)

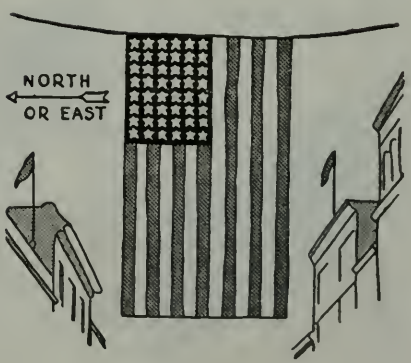
7. When the Flag is displayed from a staff projecting horizontally or at an angle from the window sill, balcony, or front of building, the union of the Flag should go clear to the head of the staff unless the Flag is at half-mast.

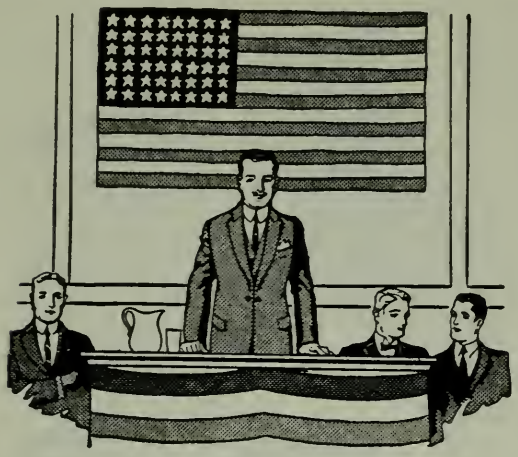


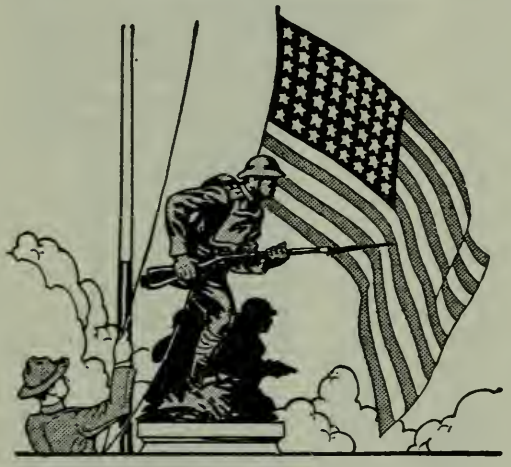
8. When the Flag of the United States is displayed in a manner other than by being flown from a staff, it should be displayed flat, whether indoors or out. When displayed either horizontally or vertically against a wall, the union should be uppermost and to the Flag's own right, i. e., to the observer's left. When displayed in a window it should be displayed the same way, i. e., with the union or blue field to the left of the observer in the street. When festoons, rosettes, or drapings of blue, white, and red are desired, bunting should be used, but never the flag.

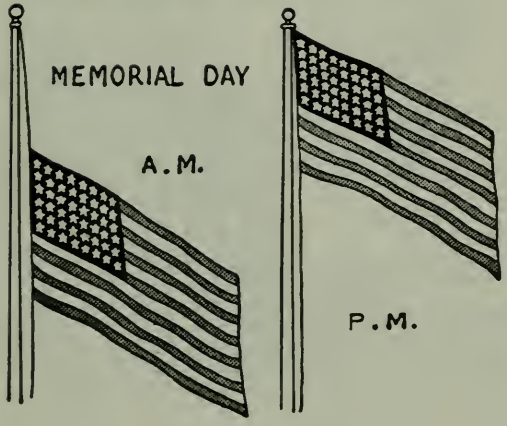


9. When displayed over the middle of the street, as between buildings, the Flag of the United States should be suspended vertically with the union to the north in an east-and-west street or to the east in a north-and-south street.









10. When used on a speaker's platform, the Flag should be displayed above and behind the speaker. It should never be used to cover the speaker's desk nor to drape over the front of the platform. If flown from a staff it should be on the speaker's right.

11. When used in unveiling a statue or monument, the Flag should not be allowed to fall to the ground but should be carried aloft to wave out, forming a distinctive feature during the remainder of the ceremony.

12. When flown at half-mast, the Flag is first hoisted to the peak and then lowered to the half-staff position, but before lowering the Flag for the day it is raised again to the peak. On Memorial Day the Flag is displayed at half-staff from sunrise until noon and at full staff from noon until sunset, for the Nation lives and the Flag is the symbol of the living Nation.

13. When used to cover

a casket, the Flag should be placed so that the union is at the head and over the left shoulder. The Flag should not be lowered into the grave nor allowed to touch the ground. The casket should be carried foot first.

14. When the Flag is displayed in church, it should be from a staff placed on the congregation's right as they face the clergyman. The service flag, the state flag, or other flag should be at the left of the congregation. If in the chancel, the Flag of the United States should be placed on the clergyman's right as he faces the congregation, and other flags on his left.

15. When the Flag is in such a condition that it is no longer a fitting emblem for display it should not be cast aside or used in any way that might be viewed as disrespectful to the national colors, but should be destroyed as a whole, privately, preferably by burning or by some other method in harmony with the reverence and respect we owe to the emblem representing our country.

How to Respect the Flag. 1. Do not permit disrespect to be shown to the Flag of the United States.

2. Do not dip the Flag of the United States to any person or any thing. The regimental color, state flag, organization or institutional flag will render this honor.

3. Do not display the Flag of the United States with the union down except as a signal of distress.

4. Do not place any other flag or pennant above or to the right of the Flag of the United States.

5. Do not let the Flag of the United States touch the ground or trail in the water.

6. Do not place any object or emblem of any kind on or above the Flag of the United States.

7. Do not use the Flag as drapery in any form whatever. Use bunting of blue, white, and red.

8. Do not fasten the Flag in such manner as will permit it to be easily torn.

9. Do not drape the Flag over the hood, top, sides, or back of a vehicle, or of a railroad train, or boat. When the

Flag is displayed on a motor car, the staff should be affixed firmly to the chassis or clamped to the radiator cap.

10. Do not display the Flag on a float in a parade except from a staff.

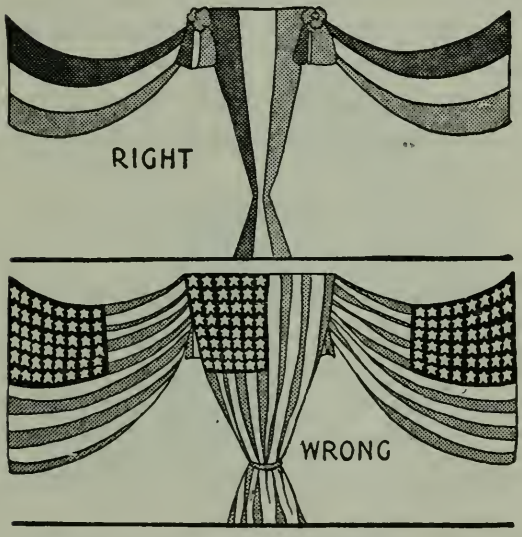
11. Do not use the Flag as a covering for a ceiling.

12. Do not use the Flag as a portion of a costume or of an athletic uniform.

13. Do not put lettering of any kind upon the Flag.

14. Do not use the Flag in any form of advertising nor fasten an advertising sign to a pole from which the Flag of the United States is flying.

15. Do not display, use, or store the Flag in such a manner as will permit it to be easily soiled or damaged.



Proper Use of Bunting. Bunting of the national colors should be used for covering a speaker's desk, draping over the front of a platform, and for decoration in general. Bunting should be arranged with the blue above, the white in the middle, and the red below.

How to Salute the Flag. During the ceremony of hoisting or lowering the Flag or when the Flag is passing in a review, all persons present should face the Flag, stand at attention, and salute. Those present in uniform should render the right-hand salute. When not in uniform, men should remove the headdress with the right hand and hold it at the left shoulder, the hand being over the heart. Women should salute by placing the right hand over the heart. The salute to the Flag in the moving column is rendered at the moment the Flag passes.

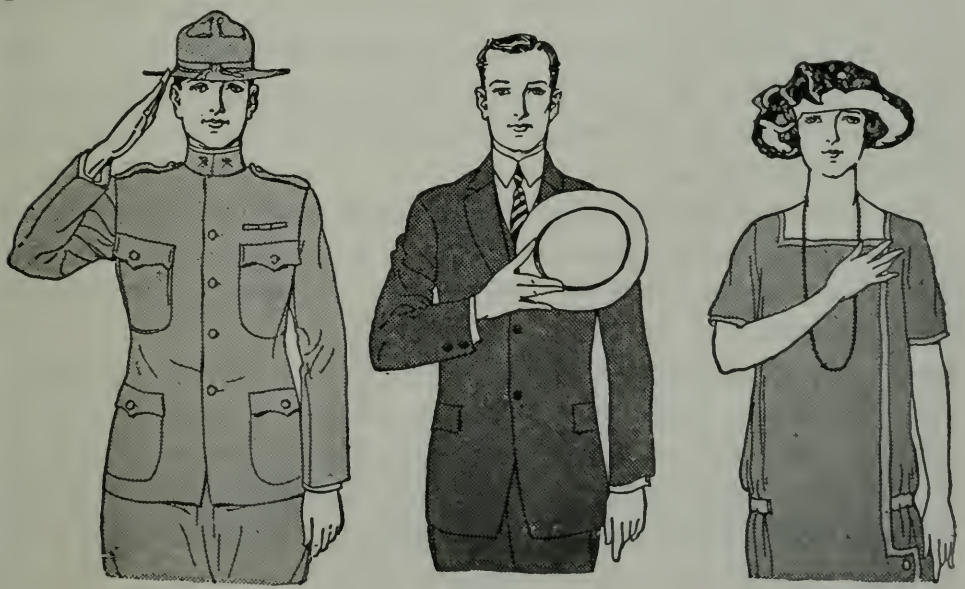
Salute When Giving the Pledge to the Flag. In pledging allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, the approved practice in schools, which is suitable also for civilian adults, is as follows:

> "I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, indivisible, with Liberty, and Justice for all."

At the words "to the Flag," the right hand is extended, palm upward, towards the Flag and this position is held until the end of the affirmation when the hand drops to the side.

However, civilian adults will always show full respect to the Flag, when the pledge is being given, by merely standing at attention, men removing the headdress. Persons in uniform should render the right-hand salute.

Salute to the National Anthem. When the National Anthem is played and no Flag is displayed, all present should stand and face towards the music. Those in uniform should salute at the first note of the Anthem. All others should stand at attention, men removing the headdress. When the Flag is displayed, the regular "Salute to the Flag" should be given.



CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SEC. I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in

such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three; *Massachusetts,* eight; *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,* one; *Connecticut,* five; *New York,* six; *New Jersey,* four; *Pennsylvania,* eight; *Delaware,* one; *Maryland,* six; *Virginia,* ten; *North Carolina,* five; *South Carolina,* five; *Georgia,* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore,* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SEC. IV. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. V. 1. Each house shall be judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he

approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. VIII. The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States: but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post offices and post roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: And,

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. X. 1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance,

or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SEC. I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [Annulled. See Amendments, Art. 12.]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen

of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. II. 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. III. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. IV. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SEC. I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish.

The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, and other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state, claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases beforementioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punish-

ment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SEC. I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. II. 1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. III. 1. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SEC. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every state

in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all ex-

ecutive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ART. I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of

life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ART. VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ART. VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the rights of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ART. XI. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ART. XII. 1. The electors shall meet in their respective

states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds

of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ART. XIII. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ART. XIV. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election, for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ART. XV. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ART. XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ART. XVII. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the

people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ART. XVIII. *Section* 1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportaton thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

ART. XIX. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ART. XX. 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice-President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article (Oct., 1933).

6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the

legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ART. XXI. 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

Administrative.—Executive. Administrative departments are those which carry on the actual work of the government.

Admiralty and Maritime Jurisdiction.—Authority over naval and marine cases; that is, cases which arise on the high seas.

Allegiance.—The tie of obligation or devotion to one's government. Citizenship by birth carries the obligation without the formality of an oath, but all foreigners are required to express this obligation by taking an oath of allegiance before becoming a citizen.

Alternate.—A substitute who serves in case the regular delegate can not be present.

Appeal.—To carry a case from one court to a higher court because of dissatisfaction with the decision in the lower court.

Articles of Confederation.—The document drawn up and adopted by the second Continental Congress and ratified in 1781 by the legislatures of the thirteen colonies. It created a weak central government for the United States of America. These articles were superseded after eight years by our present Constitution.

Assessed.—Valued for taxation. Property which has an assessed valuation of two thousand dollars must pay twice as much tax as property assessed at one thousand dollars.

Australian Ballot.—A ballot provided by the authorities according to law. Secrecy is assured to the voter. This reduces intimidation and bribery since no one can be sure he has influenced the voter.

Authority.—Rightful or legal power; the right to command and to demand obedience. A parent has authority over his own child. The United States government has authority over its citizens.

Best Sellers.—The books that have the greatest sale within a certain given time.

Bill of Rights.—(1) A "charter of English liberty" which William the Third agreed to when he became King in 1689.

(2) A summary of the rights and privileges guaranteed to the people by the Constitution. Such a summary is usually an integral part of the state constitution. In the United States Constitution it is found in the first ten amendments and in a few sections of Article 1.

Boards and Commissions.—Groups of persons appointed or elected to deal with specific problems or activities of government. (See Commissions.)

Breach of the Peace.—Any crime less than a felony which disturbs public order. A street fight is a breach of the peace.

Budget.—Estimated receipts and expenditures made before money has been spent. Public money can be spent most wisely and economically under a budget plan.

Bureau.—Originally meant a desk or writing table with drawers—also an office where writing is done. As used in our government, it means a department of public business requiring an official or officials and a force of clerks. The executive departments represented in the President's cabinet are each subdivided into bureaus.

Central Government.—The Constitution of the United States recognizes two governments, the government of the United States and state governments. The government of the United States is sometimes called the central government.

Charter.—A document which gives certain rights and privileges to a people, city, or colony. Some of the American colonies were given charters by the King. King John was compelled to give his barons a charter which guaranteed the people certain rights. (See Magna Charta.)

Chronic Pauper.—One without means and unable to better his condition, who is confirmed in his habit of receiving help from charity.

City Manager.—Some cities prefer to have their affairs administered by an expert selected because of his business ability rather than because he is a successful political candidate. The head of such a city is known as the city manager. Details concerning his office are given in Chapter IX.

Civil Case.—A trial resulting from a dispute as to property rights. The decision does not involve guilt or innocence but obligation. Decision is for or against the plaintiff or the defendant.

Civil Service.—The system of selecting government employees and appointive officials upon a basis of qualification for the position to be filled instead of regard for political service.

Civil Service Commission.—A commission of three, no more than two of whom may belong to the same political party, appointed by the President to aid him in making regulations for the Civil

Service and to conduct competitive examinations and recommend candidates.

Class Distinction.—Difference in the esteem in which one is held because of birth, wealth, or occupation. Formerly, lords, dukes, and barons were a distinct class in most European countries. Rich and poor are sometimes looked upon as two classes. People doing certain kinds of work may be looked down upon. But the American ideal is to respect each one for what he is—regardless of his ancestry, his money, or his trade. As some one has said, "Every tub must stand on its own bottom."

Clearing House.—The establishment where accounts between banks are settled by the exchange of checks, bills, and other forms of credit.

Clinic.—An institution for the examination and treatment of patients, free or at small cost.

Code.—A body of laws, compiled and arranged to form a system of laws.

Commissions.—Groups of experts organized to study or control specific activities of government. The Civil Service Commission has charge of Civil Service examinations. Some commissions are composed of paid officers; others are made up of voluntary workmen. There were many of these voluntary commissions during the World War.

Common Law.—The body of decisions and precedents handed down from the courts. Common law is used in arriving at a decision when no statutory law covers the case.

Commonwealth.—A people united under free and popular form of government. The word *commonwealth* is used synonymously with the word *state*, as the states or commonwealths of the American Union.

Competing Lines.—Railways, steamship lines, or other means of transportation or communication, which, without agreement among themselves as to charges, are rendering the same services to the same community.

Competitor.—One who contends or strives for the same thing—generally used in referring to those in the same business striving to secure customers.

Compulsory Attendance.—In most states laws require parents to send their children to school until they reach a certain age or grade. Such attendance at school is called compulsory attendance.

Compulsory Education.—Educational opportunity which people may be forced by law to provide for their children.

Conservation.—To keep from loss, to protect; applied to national government protection of our natural resources.

Consolidation.—A combination. Several rural communities often cooperate to build one modern, well-equipped school which they all use, instead of maintaining individual institutions of an inferior type.

Constitution.—The foundation or fundamental laws of a government. The United States and each of the individual states has a constitution in the form of a document providing for the different branches of government and their operation.

Constitutional Convention.—An assembly composed of delegates elected for the purpose of writing or revising a constitution. The most important one in our history met in 1787 and drafted the original Constitution of the United States.

Constitutional Officer.—One whose position is created and whose powers are defined in a constitution. A state legislature may create or abolish some offices by law but it can neither create nor abolish constitutional offices. These owe their position to a vote of the people who may adopt or amend the constitution.

Contaminate.—To make impure or unhealthful. Waste or sewage will contaminate a body of water into which it is drained, which makes the water unhealthful.

Contagious Disease.—Any disease which may be transmitted from one person to another by contact, either direct or indirect.

Contiguous Territory.—Areas not separated. Territories that touch each other at some point. The states of Colorado and New Mexico are contiguous.

Corporation.—A group of persons organized in an association and endowed by law with the rights, privileges, and liabilities of an individual.

Corporation Tax.—A tax levied upon the capital stock of a corporation.

Criminal.—One who commits a serious offense against the law, as a thief or murderer. In another sense, any violator of law.

Crusader.—A series of wars were waged during the first half of the Middle Ages by the Christian peoples of Europe against the Turks. The object was to gain possession of the Tomb of Christ. Many English Knights took part in these wars and were known as crusaders.

Customs Duties.—Taxes collected upon imports when they are brought into the country. Custom comes from a word meaning keeper or guard. The keeper used to stand at the city

gate and collect taxes from all who brought goods into the city. Some European cities still collect "gate taxes."

Decision.—The settlement of a case by a judge or court. The Supreme Court decisions require agreement of not less than five of the nine justices.

Delegate at Large.—A delegate to a political or other convention, who represents a state instead of a district within a state. Delegates to presidential conventions are elected in two ways. Some are elected by congressional districts; others are elected by the entire state and are called delegates at large.

Deliberative Body.—An assembly which considers measures before passing them. Congress is composed of two houses, both of which are deliberative bodies.

Democratic.—Giving each member concerned a voice in the government of that particular group, the guiding principles for which are carried out by a designated officer or officers. A democratic family is one in which the children's ideas are given sound consideration and their activities are guided intelligently by the father and mother.

Despotic Power.—Authority exercised without consent of the governed.

Dialects.—A slightly changed mode of speech or way of talking which may make understanding very difficult without seriously changing written language. The difference, for example, between the language used by a London newspaper and a newspaper in Denver is not very great; yet many who read one of these papers could not understand readily the speech of those who read the other. In some European countries dialects are very numerous and very different.

Dictator.—One who is given absolute authority to rule a country. Usually this is for only a limited period during a war or some great crisis or disaster.

Direct Legislation.—Legislation by means of the initiative and referendum. In some states a bill may be drawn and, by petition filed with the proper officer, be placed upon the ballot at the next election. If a majority of those voting on the proposition vote "yes" the bill becomes a law. This process is called direct legislation.

Direct Primary.—A system of nominating candidates for office by direct vote of the members of a political party instead of by a delegate convention.

Direct Taxes.—Are those which the tax levying authority intend shall be paid by the person owning the property upon which they are levied. A tax on land is a direct tax.

Doubtful States.—States in which political results are very uncertain. In some states the Republicans almost always win; in others, the Democrats; in still others success rests with one party at one election and with another at the next, neither party being safely in the lead at all times. These latter are called doubtful states.

Electoral College.—A term applied to the entire body of presidential electors. This body never meets. The electors of each state meet at the state capitol, cast their vote, and the results are sent to Washington where votes are counted and the results announced.

Environment.—Surroundings. Conditions in which one lives. Environment includes home, living, and neighborhood conditions, school and church, shop and the street—everything which may affect one after his birth, except such traits or physical features as he may inherit.

Epidemic.—A disease that affects many in a community at the same time.

Escheats.—Property which has reverted to state ownership by failure of legally entitled persons to hold the same.

Excise.—A duty or tax levied upon certain specified articles grown or manufactured within the United States. It is an indirect tax. The best known example in the United States is the tax upon tobacco produced and used within this country.

Executive.—Carrying out or into effect. An executive does things or carries out laws. The President carries on the activities of the government through the executive department.

Executive Department.—Law-enforcing branch of national or state government. It executes the laws. The President is head of the executive department of the United States. The governor and other administrative officers, like the treasurer and auditor, are the executive department of state governments.

Ex-Officio.—Because of the office. An *ex-officio* member of a governing board is one who holds his position because he occupies a related office. Thus the state superintendent of schools is often an *ex-officio* member of the state board of education.

Expert Service.—The work of a specialist. Anyone who devotes a great deal of attention to his business or occupation and mas-

ters it, may render expert service; but as the words are commonly used we think of the kind of service very few can render, like that of a skilled surgeon.

Exploiting the Soil.—Using the native fertility of the soil without restoring to it anything which will keep it productive. Unless the soil is kept up by fertilizers or rotation of crops, it ceases to produce full crops. The poorest soils may wear out in a few years; others may go on producing for a very long time, but the end is always the same unless the soil is cared for.

Extra-Legal.—Not provided in law. Extra-legal does not mean illegal; it simply indicates that no law expressly requires or forbids or even mentions some acts. Many powers of the President are extra-legal. Political parties during most of our history have been extra-legal; the law simply has not mentioned them.

Federal Courts.—United States courts; not state or local courts.

Federal Government.—A government in which the powers are delegated by a number of member governments. In the United States, governmental power is delegated to a central government at Washington by the forty-eight state governments located in different sections of the country. The government at Washington is a federal government.

Federal Reserve Bank.—The latest development in our banking system. The banking law of the United States divides the country into twelve districts. One bank is established in each district, which does a banking business with the member banks of that district. All national banks must become members, and state banks may be members. Each of these twelve banks is called a Federal Reserve Bank.

Fees.—Compulsory payments which cover the cost or a part of the cost of an official act which benefits the person making the payment. Recording a deed or issuing a license usually calls for a fee.

Felony.—A serious crime, punishable by death or long imprisonment. Manslaughter, arson, theft, and forgery are felonies.

Feudalism.—A land and property holding system of the Middle Ages by which the King ruled his people through the nobility. All except the King owed service or rent to the superior next above him. The superior was expected in each case to protect those who served him.

Filibustering.—"Talking against time," or using some other means of delaying action upon a bill which the filibusterer wishes to

defeat. Filibustering was formerly very commonly resorted to in the United States Senate, speeches of fourteen hours being made solely to delay action until time for considering a bill had passed.

Final Authority.—The last word. In a home, should there be a difference in opinions regarding its government, the judgment of the father or mother is decisive.

Forced Obedience.—Conformity to rule secured by the use of force. If one does not obey laws and regulations willingly, those with authority compel him to do so.

Franchise.—An agreement between an individual or corporation and a city by which the person or company agrees to render public service for the city in return for the rights the city gives. A street railway company may agree to provide transportation in return for the right to use the streets for laying tracks. The franchise states the rights and duties of both city and company.

Fraudulent Schemes.—Any plan or theory of action devised with the intent of deliberately deceiving and thereby gaining an unlawful or unfair advantage.

Freedom of the Press.—The right or privilege of printing any facts, opinions, or other matter without fear of interference from government authority.

Grand Jury.—A jury of not less than seven men nor more than twenty-three whose duty it is to examine charges of crime in secret session and indict those persons against whom there is sufficient evidence. The accused person is then brought to trial.

Great Council.—The group of advisers to the King of England before there was a Parliament. It was composed of the great nobles and the higher clergy.

Hereditary Lords.—(1) Members of the nobility whose title descends from generation to generation. The eldest son of an earl becomes the next earl under the hereditary system. (2) Members of the House of Lords in the English Parliament who hold office because of birth.

Heredity.—Physical or mental characteristics derived from parents or other ancestors.

House of Commons.—The elective house of the English Parliament. It now has much more power than the House of Lords. Since 1911, the House of Lords can delay but cannot prevent passage

of any law favored by the voters who elect the House of Commons.

House of Lords.—The upper house of the legislative branch of the English Parliament.

Hundred-Moot.—An assembly, in early English history, of representatives from the tuns and manors within a district known as a hundred.

Illiteracy.—Inability to read and write. The amount of illiteracy is usually reckoned in the percentage of persons over ten years of age not able to read or write.

Impeachment.—The process provided by most constitutions for removing officials from office who have been guilty of a high crime or misdemeanor. In the case of United States officers, the charge is made by the House of Representatives and the case is tried by the Senate.

Inauguration.—The act of inducting an official into office in a formal manner. Presidents and governors are inducted into their offices in this way. The ceremonies include an oath taken by the official.

Income Tax.—A percentage of one's income legally paid for the support of our government. The United States and many of the states require payment of income taxes.

Independent Thinking.—Thinking out problems for one's self. One who belongs to a political party or a church without knowing why is not an independent thinker. One who is influenced only by the interests of his own trade or profession is not independently thinking.

Individual Liberty.—The rights guaranteed to the people by our national and state constitutions.

Industrial Revolution.—The changes brought about by the use of power-driven machinery in manufacturing. These changes came in England between 1775 and 1825. Large factories took the place of household work or small shops. Cities grew rapidly around the factories. Mass production made goods cheaper.

Inheritance Tax.—A special kind of property tax. It is levied upon property at the death of the owner and is paid by the heirs receiving the inheritance.

Initiative.—A plan of law-making by which the people have the lead. By securing a certain number of signatures, it is possible for any person or group of persons to propose laws to be voted upon and adopted or defeated at an election.

Injunction.—A court decree commanding to do or not to do a certain act or not to cease performing an act. An injunction might keep street cars running or prevent a change in the rate of carfare required.

Interstate Commerce Commission.—A commission of eleven men appointed by the President and having power to regulate interstate commerce. It has been given power to fix railroad, steamship, express, telegraph, and telephone rates.

Interstate Problems.—Questions which concern two or more states. Problems of the Mississippi River may be interstate since the river is not in any state exclusively. Many railroad problems are interstate since railroads cross state lines.

Intimidation.—The practice of making people afraid to do or not to do something. In some cases ruffians stationed near polling places have slugged voters and made timid people afraid to go to the polls. In other cases it is alleged that employers have made their workmen afraid of losing their jobs unless their votes were cast as the employer desired.

Judicial Department.—That part of the government created for interpreting the laws and applying them to specific cases. It consists of all courts provided for by a government.

Judicial Districts.—The region or territory served by a court. If a county has a court, its judicial district is the county. United States district courts often include an entire state in their judicial district.

Jurisdiction.—The legal right of a particular court to hear and determine cases. The jurisdiction of a court may be limited as to territory and as to type of case.

Juvenile Court.—A legal tribunal for the trial of children who have violated law.

Legislative Department.—Law-making branch of national or state government. Congress and state legislatures are called legislative departments.

Libel.—A publication without just cause or excuse, tending to expose another to public contempt or ridicule. It may be in print, writing, picture, or effigy.

Liberal Construction.—An interpretation that is not restricted to the literal sense but attempts to apply the real spirit and intent of the law to the case under consideration. The term is used fre-

quently in discussing the interpretation of constitutions. (See Strict Construction.)

Lighter-Than-Air Craft.—A term applied to airships capable of floating in the air because they are lighter than the air displaced. Lighter-than-air craft are divided into two classes, balloons and dirigibles. Balloons float through the air as the wind moves them. Dirigibles are equipped with a motor for propulsion and control.

Magna Charta.—Great Charter. This was a famous document which enumerated many of the rights of Englishmen. It was signed by King John at Runnymede in 1215. The King agreed to the Magna Charta very unwillingly, as it took away much of his power. All later "charters of liberty," including the Constitution of the United States, included many provisions from this great charter.

Medical Attention.—Oversight of health by a physician. Free medical attention is given to school children in many communities. Medical attention is available for employees in some manufacturing plants.

Merit System.—The plan of appointing officers because of superior qualifications, allowing them to hold office as long as their work is satisfactory, and recognizing unusual excellence of service if promotions are made.

Militia.—A body of citizens enrolled as a regular military force for periodical instruction, discipline, and drill, but not called into active service except in emergencies. These groups are more familiarly known as the National Guard.

Misdemeanor.—Any crime less than a felony. Punishment provided by law is less than imprisonment in the penitentiary.

National Bank.—A bank organized under the United States national bank law of 1862. Each national bank must deposit government bonds with the United States treasury and may issue currency up to the amount of bonds deposited.

National Government.—The government of the United States, consisting of the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court, with all subordinate officials and assistants. Sometimes it is called the central or federal government.

Negotiations.—The act of conducting communications and dealings concerning a treaty, league, or convention between nations. The

word is sometimes used in reference to business transactions between private parties.

Ordinances.—Local laws or regulations enacted by a municipal government, such as a city council.

Parliament.—The English representative body, consisting of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The French word for talk is *parler*. The Norman-French conquerors of England called the body which talked over political matters Parliament.

Parole.—Word of honor. A prisoner may be paroled, that is, given freedom on his promise or word of honor that he will behave properly or according to rules agreed upon.

Party Machinery.—(1) The system of permanent party committees and committee chairmen, beginning with the committee in the voting precinct and running through the county, city, district, state, and nation. (2) The organization of a political party. It must have leaders and loyal followers. No dishonor is attached to the term *party machine* unless leaders are bad and followers blind to their duty to the country.

Patronage.—The offices, contracts, favors, and honors which a public official has opportunity to bestow. The President's right and duty of appointment gives him a great deal of patronage.

Permanent Highways.—Roads that are built with great care; the beds reduced to grade and then covered with some kind of hard-surfacing material like concrete.

Petit Jury.—A jury of six or twelve men summoned to try cases at court—so called in distinction from Grand Jury. (See Grand Jury.)

Philanthropic.—With a desire to promote the happiness and welfare of mankind.

Playing Politics.—The use of artful, cunning schemes to control a political party or other groups; used in a bad sense when the schemes are unscrupulous.

Political Freedom.—Having free and independent choice in all matters pertaining to government.

Political Rights.—The privilege of sharing and having a voice in policies and practices of government.

Poll Tax.—A uniform tax upon all taxpayers. Collecting five dollars from each person for road improvement would be an example of a poll tax.

Popular Education.—That education, the opportunity for which, at least, is extended to every citizen of the country.

Poverty.—The condition that results through inability or failure to earn enough to provide proper food, clothing, and shelter; living upon a standard too low to make possible efficient work.

Preamble.—The introductory part of a constitution, which states the reasons for adopting it.

Precedent.—A former act or case used as a guide in arriving at a decision. Precedents are used by judges in rendering their decisions. A case is usually decided as a similar case has been at some time in the past.

Precinct.—The smallest political unit. A small district used for voting purposes. It is composed of the territory served by one polling place and is the unit upon which the organization of political parties is based.

Priceless Heritage.—Something received from our ancestors which we could not or would not sell. The right of free government insured by our Constitution has come to us as the result of centuries of struggle. We have become accustomed to such liberties, but they are so priceless that if they were threatened most Americans would say with Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death."

Primitive Peoples.—Tribes of people belonging to the first ages or early times.

Propaganda.—The spreading of a particular doctrine or system of principles.

Property Qualifications.—Requirements that persons must own a certain amount of property or have a certain income before being allowed to vote or hold office. Such requirements were very common in the early history of the United States, but most of them have been removed.

Pro Tempore.—For the time being. Usually used in referring to an official who holds a position for a short time during the absence of the regular official. The speaker *pro tempore* is the person selected to act as speaker in the absence of the official speaker.

Public Hygiene.—Health provisions made by a community. Food inspection, and testing of the city water supply by a board of health are examples of public hygiene.

Public Opinion.—The desires and opinions of the people as expressed in their newspapers, speeches, letters, and books.

Public Service Utilities.—Such undertakings as railroads and street railways, express companies, and water systems whose service

the public must have. Proper regulation of public service utilities is one of the greatest problems of modern government.

Pure Food and Drug Act.—An act passed by Congress in 1906 prohibiting "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated, misbranded, poisonous, or deleterious goods, drugs, or liquors."

Quarantine.—To compel to remain at a distance from people or in a given place when suspected of having a contagious disease. The term originally meant the space of forty days during which a ship was kept in port if suspected of being infected with a contagious disease. Now used to signify restraint to prevent the spread of disease on land as well as sea.

Quorum.—The number of members of any body, designated by the rule, law, or constitution under which the body is working as sufficient to transact business. The number required is usually a majority or more than half the members.

Ratification.—Agreement upon or adoption of. The states ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1789.

Ratified.—The approval given to a constitution or constitutional amendment by the people of a state. This may be done by direct vote or, in the case of the United States Constitution, by the vote of the state legislature or by the vote of a convention called for that purpose.

Recall.—Legal provision for removing any officer from his position by popular vote. The action in states and cities where the recall is legal is usually initiated by petition and decided upon by the people at an election held for that purpose.

Referendum.—The right to approve or reject by popular vote a measure passed by a legislative body and, in some states, measures proposed by initiative. Also used to mean the vote itself. (See Initiative.)

Related Industries.—Those businesses concerned with the manufacture of products in connection with something else being produced, the cost of which is usually materially lowered because of this connection with the larger industry. Soap manufacturing is a related industry to meat packing.

Repeaters.—Repeater is a term applied to a person who goes from precinct to precinct in a city and casts a vote at each precinct under a different name; or he may cast more than one vote at the same precinct.

Representative.—One who speaks or acts for others. Members of Congress speak and act for those who elect them to office. In this way all take part in law-making. Senators and members of the lower house both represent us, but the name Representative is applied especially to members of the lower house of the national or of a state government.

Rotation of Crops.—Changing crops on land in regular order to build up the fertility of the soil.

Scientific Farming.—Using the knowledge of the best authorities known in agriculture. At an experiment station small plots were plowed at various depths of from three to ten inches, and planted in wheat. The same care was given to each plot. After carrying on the experiment during several years the proper depth for plowing was determined. How far apart to plant corn, how to get rid of insects, what varieties of fruit best withstand frost or drought, all have been studied in the same way. The farmer who profits by such studies made by himself or at experiment stations is doing scientific farming.

Semaphore.—A system of signalling by the use of flags, lanterns, or some other moveable objects.

Senator.—A member of the upper house of Congress, or of a state legislature.

Serf.—One who to a large extent is a slave. Serfs are usually considered as a part of the land on which they live and if the land is sold, they are sold with it. Serfs, also called villeins, were the lowest class of people in early English history.

Sewage.—Waste carried off by a sewer.

Shire.—A district in England used as a unit for local government. Similar to the county in the United States.

Shire-Moot.—An assembly, in early English history, of representatives from the tuns and manors within a district known as a shire. (See Tun-moot.)

Short Ballot.—A ballot with but few names upon it. The short ballot is made possible by constitutions and laws which provide for the election of a few officers who have power to appoint all others.

Single House.—In government, a house refers to a body of men forming a deliberative assembly. A single house means a gathering in which all the members meet together; in contrast to a gathering composed of two or more houses, such as Congress divided into the Senate and House of Representatives.

Slander.—A report circulated with malice tending to injure the reputation of another.

Solid South.—Since the reconstruction days following the Civil War most of the states in the South have been controlled by the Democratic Party and have given their electoral vote to its candidate for President. Thus is the origin of the term "solid South," meaning that the South is solidly Democratic.

Sovereign People.—People who are independent of and unlimited by any other person or state. A people entitled to and possessing original authority. The people of the United States are sovereign. The people of a state or commonwealth possess original authority in all things not denied to the states or given to the national government by the Constitution of the United States. In this limited sense the people of a state are sovereign.

Specialist.—One who devotes a great deal of time and study to a subject or problem and becomes an expert.

Specialized Department.—A department designed to study and take care of a specific kind of work. A department, by giving its entire attention to one particular activity and knowing everything possible concerning it, can perform a better service than it can by trying to do many different kinds of work. The State Department of Health is a specialized department because it concentrates all its efforts and resources toward protecting the public health of the state and does not take care of any other state program.

Specific Task.—A single thing to do, or problem to solve.

Spoils System.—The practice of giving government positions to members of the political party in power regardless of merit. Civil Service reform has gradually removed many important government posts from the influence of the "spoils system." (See Civil Service.)

Stamp Act.—A taxing measure which Parliament passed in 1765, requiring the colonists to place stamps on all important business papers. The act caused great excitement and was soon repealed. It was a cause of the Revolutionary War.

State Bank.—A bank operating under a charter granted by a state. (See National Bank.)

Statutory Law.—Law which is enacted by a legislative body.

Stockholders.—Those who own shares of stock in a business. If the business is prosperous it pays an income to its stockholders. Six per cent income on stock means six dollars on each one hundred dollar share of stock. If a company is so prosperous

that it pays a large income, its stock advances in value and is said to be above par; if little or no income is being earned, stock may go below par.

Straight Party Ticket.—The names of all candidates of one political party are printed in the same column in many states and in some states separate ballots for each political party are printed. If the voter votes for candidates of one party only he is said to vote a straight party ticket.

Strict Construction.—Rigid interpretation according to the precise meaning of the wording of law. The term is frequently used in connection with the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. (See Liberal Construction.)

Suffrage.—The right to vote.

Suppression.—Prevention of freedom of expression.

Toll.—A term applied to the charges made for the privilege of using canals, roads, bridges, or other property used by the public. Small mills sometimes take a share of the grain they grind as toll.

Trading Company.—An association founded to carry on commerce. The best known trading companies in the early history of the United States were engaged in the fur trade. The London Company which established the Virginia colony was a trading company.

Treasonable Doctrines.—Teachings which endanger our government by encouraging disloyalty.

Trustees.—Those who are entrusted with the care and management of property or institutions. Boards of school directors are trustees.

Tun-Moot.—A gathering of the freemen of a tun or small district in Saxon England. Our word *town* has come from *tun*, and *moot* meant meeting. A tun-moot was like a town meeting.

"Turn Over" of Products.—The amount of time between buying and selling or producing and selling. If a merchant sells half his stock and replaces it within a month, the "turn over" is very quick. Farm production always represents a slow "turn over." A corn crop may require seven or eight months. Winter wheat requires more time. The production of live stock requires several years.

Unconstitutional.—In conflict with the Constitution. The term is usually applied to a law passed by the legislative body of a

government which the Supreme Court declares not consistent with the Constitution.

Universal Education.—Education of all persons capable of learning.

Unwritten Constitution.—The body of customs which have taken definite form and are fundamental in the organization of our government, and yet have not been reduced to formal constitutional law, are called the unwritten constitution. The President's cabinet and political parties are examples of such customs.

Urban Community.—The meaning of the word *urban* is "having connection with or being related to a city." Urban communities are, therefore, groups of people living in the same locality and organized for city life. An urban community may be a large or small city, as contrasted to a rural community.

Usurp Authority.—To take over or assume power not allowed by law. Many people in our early history feared that the President would usurp authority until he became too powerful.

Violation of Law.—The committing of any act that is contrary to the law; breaking the law; or doing anything which is forbidden by law.

Vocational Courses.—Courses of study which are intended to give knowledge and skill in some occupation or trade.

Wildcat Banking.—A term applied to banks which were permitted to issue paper money in larger quantities than they were able to redeem in gold or silver. It has come to mean unsound, irresponsible banking. The term is said to have first been used to describe an insolvent bank whose notes had a picture of a panther upon them.

Workman's Compensation Law.—A law which provides for the payment of compensation to workingmen or their heirs for injury or death by accident while employed. This plan is intended to take the place of settlement by means of damage suits in the courts.

COMPENDIUM OF CIVIC INFORMATION

TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Territories are those regions too sparsely settled or which for some other reason are not yet ready to be made states. Their type of government is that which is designed to prepare them to become states; however, it is not likely that the territories listed below will become states very soon. Dependencies are given whatever government best suits their needs.

Name	Date of Acquisition	Area Sq. Mi.	Population 1940	Territory or Dependency
Alaska...	Purchased from Russia in March, 1867.....	586,400	72,524	Territory
Hawaii...	Annexed to U. S. July 7, 1898.....	6,407*	423,330	Territory
Guam....	Ceded to U. S. by Spain, December 10, 1898..	206	22,290	Dependency
Philippine Islands.	Ceded to U. S. by Spain, December 10, 1898..	114,400	16,356,000	Commonwealth**
Puerto Rico...	Ceded to U. S. by Spain, December 10, 1898..	3,435	1,869,255	Dependency
American Samoa.	Acquired by U. S. December 2, 1899.....	76	12,908	Dependency
Panama Canal Zone...	Acquired by U. S. May 4, 1904.....	554	51,827	Dependency
Virgin Islands.	Purchased from Denmark, March 3, 1917.	133	24,889	Dependency

*Includes Midway Islands.

**In 1934 the Philippine Islands were granted independence, to take place in 1946. Until then our government will be represented there by a high commissioner.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Executive Department. Administration beginning January 20, 1937
Reorganization, effective July 1, 1939

The President. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Salary $75,000
Vice-President. Henry A. Wallace. Salary $15,000
The Executive Office of the President

Bureau of the Budget; National Resources Planning Board; Office of Government Reports; Council of Personnel Administration.

Federal Security Agency; Paul V. McNutt, Administrator

Activities: Civilian Conservation Corps; National Youth Administration; Office of Education; Public Health Service; Social Security Board; Committee on Economic Security.

Federal Works Agency; John M. Carmody, Administrator

Activities: Federal Fire Council; Public Buildings Administration; Federal Real Estate Board; Public Roads Administration; Public Works Administration; U. S. Housing Authority; Work Projects Administration.

Federal Loan Agency; Jesse H. Jones, Administrator

Activities: Disaster Loan Corporation; Electric Home and Farm Authority; Export-Import Bank of Washington; Federal Home Loan Bank Board; Federal Housing Administration; Federal National Mortgage Association; Reconstruction Finance Corporation; R.F.C. Mortgage Company.

The Cabinet. The salary of each cabinet member is $15,000

Department of State; Cordell Hull, Secretary

Activities: Treaties and Other International Agreements; International Conferences; Foreign Service of the United States; Foreign Diplomatic and Consular Offices; Recognition of States, Government, and Belligerency; Arms and Munitions Control; Registration of Agents of Foreign Principals; Philippine Affairs; Protection of Aliens in the United States; Extradition Procedure; Claims; Passports and Registration in American Consulates; Administration of Immigration Laws and Issuance of Visas; Domestic Functions; Publications.

Department of the Treasury; Henry Morgenthau Jr., Secretary

Activities: Bureau of Comptroller of Currency; Bureau of Customs; Bureau of Engraving and Printing; Bureau of Internal Revenue; Bureau of the Mint; Bureau of Narcotics; Division of Research and Statistics; Federal Alcohol Administration; Public Debt Service; Secret Service Division; United States Coast Guard.

War Department; Henry L. Stimson, Secretary

Activities: War Department General Staff; National Guard; Joint Army-Navy Boards; Aeronautical Board; Army War College, Washington, D. C.; Army Industrial College; United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.; Panama Canal.

Department of Justice; Francis Biddle, Attorney General

Activities: General Government Legal Representation, Advice, and Opinions; Representation in United States Supreme Court; Authorization of Appeals; Public Land Matters; Criminal Matters; Customs Matters; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Bureau of Prisons; Board of Parole; Bureau of War Risk Litigation; Bond and Spirits Division; Alien Property Bureau.

Post Office Department; Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General

Activities: Care, Maintenance, and Operation of the Federal Postal Service; Postal Treaties with Foreign Governments, subject to Approval of President; Award and Execution of Mail Contracts and Management of Foreign Mail Service; Management of Postal Savings, Money-Order, and Registered Mail Services; Supervision of Air and Railway Mail Service; Disposition of Dead Letters and Parcel Post.

Department of the Navy; Frank Knox, Secretary

Activities: Bureau of Yards and Docks; Bureau of Navigation; Naval Observatory; Bureau of Ordnance; Bureau of Construction and Repair; Bureau of Engineering; Bureau of Supplies and Accounts; Bureau of Medicine and Surgery; Bureau of Aeronautics; United States Marine Corps; Naval War College, Newport, R. I.; Naval Academy, Annapolis.

Department of the Interior; Harold L. Ickes, Secretary

Activities: General Land Office; Bureau of Reclamation; Geological Survey; Bureau of Mines; Office of Indian Affairs; National Park Service; Bureau of Fisheries; Bureau of Biological Survey; Petroleum Conservation Division; Bituminous Coal Division; Division of Territories and Island Possessions; Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration.

Department of Agriculture; Claude R. Wickard, Secretary

Activities: Agricultural Adjustment Administration; Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering; Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Agricultural Marketing Service; Bureau of Animal Industry; Commodity Credit Corporation; Commodity Exchange Administration; Bureau of Dairy Industry; Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine; Farm Security Administration; Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation; Food and Drug Administration; Forest Service; Bureau of Home Economics; Bureau of Plant Industry; Rural Electrification Administration; Soil Conservation Service; Weather Bureau; Experiment Stations.

Department of Commerce; Jesse H. Jones, Secretary

Activities: Bureau of the Census; Coast and Geodetic Survey; Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; Inland Waterways Corporation; Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation; Bureau of Standards; Patent Office.

Department of Labor; Frances Perkins, Secretary

Activities: Bureau of Labor Statistics; Children's Bureau; Division of Labor Standards; Immigration and Naturalization Service; Public Contracts Division; United States Conciliation Service; Wage and Hour Division; Women's Bureau.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Supreme Court of the United States.

Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, appointed 1941. Salary $20,500.

*Associate Justices

Owen J. Roberts, appointed 1930.
Hugo L. Black, appointed 1937.
Stanley F. Reed, appointed 1938.
Felix Frankfurter, appointed 1939.
William O. Douglas, appointed 1939.
Frank Murphy, appointed 1940.
Robert H. Jackson, appointed 1941.
James F. Byrnes, appointed 1941.

*Salary of each, $20,000 yearly.

Court of Customs and Patent Appeals

MEMBERS	SALARY
Presiding Judge	$12,500
4 Associate Judges, each	12,500

Court of Claims

MEMBERS	SALARY
Chief Justice	$12,500
4 Associate Judges, each	12,500

United States Customs Court

MEMBERS	SALARY
Presiding Judge	$10,000
8 Associate Judges, each	10,000

Federal Circuit Courts

DISTRICT	JUDICIAL CIRCUIT	*NO. OF JUDGES
First	Me., Mass., N. H., R. I., Puerto Rico	3
Second	Conn., N. Y., Vt.	6
Third	Del., N. J., Pa.	5
Fourth	Md., N. C., S. C., Va., W. Va.	3
Fifth	Ala., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., Tex., Canal Zone	4
Sixth	Ky., Mich., Ohio, Tenn.	5

Federal Circuit Courts *(Continued)*

DISTRICT	JUDICIAL CIRCUIT	*NO. OF JUDGES
Seventh	Ill., Ind., Wis.	5
Eighth	Ark., Iowa, Minn., Mo., Nebr., N. Dak., S. Dak.	5
Ninth	Ariz., Calif., Idaho, Mont., Nev., Oreg., Wash., Alaska, Hawaii	6
Tenth	Colo., Wyo., Utah, Kan., Okla., N. Mex.	4

*Salary of each, $12,500 yearly.

United States District Courts

There are one or more United States District Courts in each state.

Circuit Court of Appeals

Each of the Circuit Courts of Appeals includes the District and Circuit judges in its particular circuit. They meet in the following cities of the respective Districts.

District	City
First	Boston, and when necessary, San Juan, P. R.
Second	New York
Third	Philadelphia
Fourth	Richmond and Asheville, N. C.
Fifth	New Orleans, Atlanta, Ft. Worth, and Montgomery
Sixth	Cincinnati
Seventh	Chicago
Eighth	St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Paul
Ninth	San Francisco, and two other places designated by judges of this District
Tenth	Denver, Wichita, and Oklahoma City

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

The Congress

	Term	Salary	Qualifications
Senate			
Vice-President, presiding officer	4 yrs.	$15,000	Must be a natural-born citizen; 35 yrs. old; and a resident in U. S. 14 yrs.
2 Senators from each state	6 yrs.	$10,000	Must be 30 yrs. old; a U. S. citizen for 9 yrs.; an inhabitant of the state electing him.
House of Representatives. No. of Representatives depends on population of states and apportionment determined by Congress. The presiding officer is called the Speaker.	2 yrs.	$10,000	Must be 25 yrs. old; a U. S. citizen for 7 yrs.; an inhabitant of the state electing him.

THREE WAYS IN WHICH A BILL MAY BECOME A LAW

1. A bill becomes a law when it is passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President.

2. A bill becomes a law when it is vetoed by the President and passed by a two-thirds vote of both houses over his veto.

3. A bill becomes a law when it is passed by both houses of Congress and the President holds it for ten days without signing it. It is then enacted without his signature.

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU

The Constitution requires that a population census of the United States be taken decennially. The first census was taken in 1790, and the most recent, the sixteenth, in 1940. The Census Bureau was made a permanent organization in 1902 and since 1913 has been a branch of the Department of Commerce. In 1927 the Bureau took, for the first time, a census of distribution of trade in some of the principal cities. One important feature of the Census Bureau's work is the monthly publication of the *Survey of Current Business*, which gives data regarding the movement of prices, stocks on hand, production, etc., for various lines of trade and industry, together with such other available data as may throw light upon the business situation.

The scope of the decennial census, which at first was little more than a simple count of the population by family groups and by sex and color, has been extended from time to time until in 1930 it covered in detail population, including occupations; agriculture, including irrigation and drainage; manufactures; mines, quarries, and oil and gas wells; distribution (wholesale and retail trade); and unemployment.

The Director of the Census is appointed by the President. The permanent organization includes seven chief statisticians; namely, for Population, for Manufactures, for statistics of States and Cities, for Agriculture, for Vital Statistics, for Distribution, and for Cotton and Vegetable Oils. The regular force of the Bureau at Washington during intercensal periods comprises about 800 persons, and in addition approximately 750 special agents are employed intermittently in the South for the collection of data in regard to cotton and cottonseed. During a decennial census period the office force in Washington reaches a maximum of about 6,000 employees, and nearly 100,000 enumerators. These, together with a large number of supervisors, clerks, and other employees, are engaged in the task of collecting data, compiling statistics, and preparing reports for publication.

A decennial census of the United States is the most extensive investigation of its character undertaken by any governmental or other agency in any country; and the Bureau of Census is the largest statistical organization in the world.

STEPS AN ALIEN TAKES TO BECOME A CITIZEN

1. He may file his intention of naturalization as soon after his arrival in this country as he wishes if he is eighteen years of age or over. He should fill out application form A-2213 and send it to the naturalization officer, accompanied by two signed photographs of himself. The fee for the declaration is $2.50 payable to the clerk of the court.

2. Two years later and after five years of continuous residence in this country, he may file his petition for citizenship. This must be done not more

than two years after filing his first papers of intention. This petition must be in his own handwriting and he must have at least two citizens as witnesses who have personal knowledge of his continuous residence in this country. They must also furnish witness to his good moral character. He must be able to speak English unless physically unable to do so or unless he is a homesteader on public land. The fee for petition is $5.00.

3. Ninety days later he may appear for final action before the court to take the oath of allegiance to support the Constitution of the United States. The witnesses must also be present unless advised to the contrary by the naturalization examiner. If the court finds the petitioner is qualified for citizenship, he administers the oath of allegiance and the applicant is given the certificate of citizenship.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Library of Congress was established in 1800 in Washington, D. C. It was destroyed by the burning of the Capitol in 1814 and in 1851 lost 35,000 volumes in another fire. The present library building, which cost $6,347,000, exclusive of land and subsequent additions, was opened to the public in November, 1897. It is located but a short distance from the Capitol and is the largest and finest building of its kind in the world.

The library contains approximately 5,000,000 books and pamphlets, over 1,000,000 maps, another million volumes and pieces of music, and some 500,000 prints. This collection has been built up through appropriations by Congress, by deposits under the Copyright Law, by gifts and exchanges, and by special additions. The material available is rich in history, political science, in official documents, national, state, and foreign, and in literary, historical, or other matters relating to America, including important files of American newspapers and original manuscripts. The manuscript collections are especially noteworthy for material on American history, some of the most distinguished of which have been received by transfer from the executive departments, the library now being regarded as the main custodian of the historical archive material in the possession of the government. Copies are also being made of documents concerning American history which are a part of foreign archive offices or other institutions. The library already has a large body of transcripts from such sources. This policy of transcribing and copying, where necessary by facsimile, is applied also to maps and to music.

The library is also the custodian of the originals of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States.

The Copyright Department is a distinct division of the Library of Congress. It is under the immediate charge of the Register of Copyrights, who acts directly under the supervision of the Librarian of Congress.

The Library is maintained by Congress through annual appropriations for various purposes.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., was created by act of Congress in 1846, under the terms of the will of James Smithson, an Englishman, who bequeathed his fortune in 1826 to the United States to found an institution for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." From the income of the fund a building, known as the Smithsonian Building, was erected on land given by the United States. The Institution's original endowment of $541,000 has been increased by gifts and accumulation of interest.

The Institution is legally an organization, having as its members the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, and the President's Cabinet. It is governed by a Board of Regents consisting of the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, three members of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, and six citizens of the United States appointed by joint resolution of Congress. The secretary of Smithsonian Institution is its executive officer and the director of its activities.

Throughout its history, the Institution has conducted and encouraged important scientific researches and investigations through aiding investigators by making grants for research and exploration, providing for lectures, initiating scientific projects, and publishing scientific papers. It also maintains a library of 700,000 volumes which consist mainly of the proceedings of learned societies and scientific periodicals. While the body of the library is deposited in the Library of Congress and accessible to all its readers, a working library is maintained at the Institution.

It has administrative charge of the National Museum, the National Gallery of Art, including the Freer Gallery of Art; the International Exchange Service, the Bureau of American Ethnology, the National Zoological Park, the Astrophysical Observatory, and the United States Regional Bureau for the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing of the Treasury Department manufactures all the paper money of the government; all stamps, including revenue stamps; all official checks, drafts, warrants, commissions, certificates, transportation requests, passports, and liquor permits. Its appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, aggregated $9,658,545, an increase of 10.25% over the previous year.

The major task of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is the production of paper money. It is all printed from steel engraved plates. Since steel engravings are now little used except in printing money, practically all of the steel engravers in the country work here. The engravings are transferred to flat plates which print twelve notes at an impression. Paper specially

made for the government is used. The method of printing is such as is employed almost nowhere else. Infinite care is taken that every note shall be perfect and that none of the distinctive paper is lost in the process of manufacture. Each note is subjected to a score of examinations.

The total weight of paper currency manufactured during 1936 was about 940 tons. It would have loaded 24 forty-ton freight cars. Over half of these notes were one-dollar bills.

Of bonds, notes, and certificates, there were delivered 17,601,254 sheets. Postage and other stamps accounted for 269,806,292 additional sheets. During the year 2,500 tons of stamps were manufactured, about 60 carloads of them. Other miscellaneous forms manufactured at this plant consumed about 36,277,721 sheets, weighing about 600 tons, and making about 15 carloads.

COINAGE MINTS

Location	Established
Philadelphia	1792
San Francisco	1852
Denver	1862

ASSAY OFFICES

New York	Helena, Mont.
Carson City, Nev.	Seattle
Denver	Salt Lake City
Boise, Idaho	

FEDERAL RESERVE CITIES

Dist.	City	Dist.	City	Dist.	City
1	Boston	5	Richmond	9	Minneapolis
2	New York	6	Atlanta	10	Kansas City
3	Philadelphia	7	Chicago	11	Dallas
4	Cleveland	8	St. Louis	12	San Francisco

GOVERNMENT OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The District of Columbia is the seat of the Federal Government of the United States. Almost its entire activity is governmental, there being about 65,000 civil service employees in the city. The distinctive feature of the District is the fact that the legislative department is carried on by Congress directly, and the executive department is under an Executive Commission named by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Each house of the Congress has a committee on District of Columbia. Taxation, current and for improvements, is borne chiefly by the taxpayers of the District. The residents have no vote in municipal matters in the District, but retain their state residence and vote at home on all occasions.

AREA OF NATIONAL FORESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

United States Department of Agriculture
June 30, 1938

State	Acres	State	Acres	State	Acres
Ala.	570,054	Mich.	1,774,454	Pa.	432,308
Alaska	21,348,215	Minn.	2,384,877	Puerto Rico.	34,903
Ariz.	11,400,859	Miss.	938,624	S. C.	519,853
Ark.	2,024,310	Mo.	1,088,647	S. Dak.	1,079,543
Calif.	19,452,635	Mont.	16,218,341	Tenn.	529,577
Colo.	13,629,532	Nebr.	206,026	Tex.	639,452
Fla.	1,317,015	Nev.	4,988,080	Utah	7,661,764
Ga.	566,295	N. H.	663,254	Vt.	160,539
Idaho	19,884,456	N. Mex.	8,558,286	Va.	1,291,036
Ill.	172,361	N. C.	911,971	Wash.	9,003,395
Ind.	34,209	N. Dak.	480	W. Va.	891,091
Iowa	100	Ohio	34,234	Wis.	1,320,413
Ky.	392,771	Okla.	150,923	Wyo.	8,644,163
Mass.	1,651	Oreg.	13,788,802	Total	175,238,168

NATIONAL PARKS IN THE UNITED STATES

Under supervision of the Secretary of the Interior.

Name	Location	Year Created	Acres
Abraham Lincoln*	Kentucky	1916	108
Acadia	Maine	1919	12,160
Antietam*	Maryland	1890	40
Bryce Canyon	Utah	1928	35,200
Carlsbad Caverns	New Mexico	1930	10,240
Chickamauga & Chattanooga*	Georgia & Tennessee	1890	5,733
Crater Lake	Oregon	1902	160,640
Fort Donelson*	Tennessee	1928	108
Fredericksburg*	Virginia	1927	.....
General Grant	California	1890	2,560
Gettysburg*	Pennsylvania	1895	2,530

NATIONAL PARKS IN THE UNITED STATES *(Continued)*

Under supervision of the Secretary of the Interior

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR CREATED	ACRES
Glacier	Montana	1910	981,760
Grand Canyon	Arizona	1919	645,760
Grand Teton	Wyoming	1929	96,000
Great Smoky Mountains	North Carolina and Tennessee	1930	297,600
Guilford Courthouse*	North Carolina	1917	110
Hawaii	Hawaii	1916	156,800
Hot Springs	Arkansas	1921	960
Kings Mountain*	South Carolina	1931	.....
Lassen Volcanic	California	1916	104,320
Mesa Verde	Colorado	1906	51,200
Moores Creek*	North Carolina	1926	30
Morristown	New Jersey	1933	853
Mount McKinley	Alaska	1917	1,939,200
Mount Ranier	Washington	1899	241,920
Petersburg*	Virginia	1926	185
Platt	Oklahoma	1902	853
Rocky Mountain	Colorado	1915	259,200
Sequoia	California	1890	386,560
Shiloh*	Tennessee	1894	3,583
Stones River*	Tennessee	1927	345
Sully's Hill	North Dakota	1904	780
Vicksburg*	Mississippi	1899	1,322
Wind Cave	South Dakota	1903	11,520
Yellowstone	Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho	1872	2,200,320
Yosemite	California	1890	752,640
Zion	Utah	1919	94,720

*In charge of Secretary of War.

COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

The inaugural session of the permanent Court of International Justice was held in the Carnegie Peace Palace at The Hague, Holland, February 15, 1922. B. J. C. Loder of the Netherlands was the first president, serving until September, 1924. Charles Evans Hughes, American, resigned from the court in 1930 to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

He was succeeded by Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State. The membership of the court during the period 1938-1939 was as follows:

J. Gustavo Guerrero, President	Salvador
Sir Cecil Hurst, Vice-President	Great Britain
Count Michael Rostworowski	Poland
Henri Fromageot	France
Antonio Sanchez de Bustamente y Sirven	Cuba
Rafael Altamira y Crevea	Spain
Dionisio Anzilotti	Italy
Francisco José Urrutia (deceased)	Colombia
Demetre Negulesco	Roumania
Willem Jan Mari van Eysinga	Netherlands
Harukazu Nagaoka	Japan
Cheng Tien-Hsi	China
Manley O. Hudson	United States
Charles De Visscher	Belgium
Rafael Waldemar Erich	Finland

The office of Deputy Judge was abolished upon the coming into force of the revised statute on February 1, 1936.

STATE STATISTICS

State	No. of Representatives	Total Population 1940	Urban Percentage 1940	School Enrollment 1937-1938
Alabama	9	2,832,961	30.2	670,481
Arizona	1	499,261	34.8	110,056
Arkansas	7	1,949,387	22.2	465,272
California	20	6,907,387	71.0	1,195,024
Colorado	4	1,123,296	52.6	227,237
Connecticut	6	1,709,242	67.8	295,516
Delaware	1	266,505	52.3	44,992
Dist. of Columbia		663,091	100.0	100,672
Florida	5	1,897,414	55.1	383,935
Georgia	10	3,123,723	34.4	730,894
Idaho	2	524,873	33.7	121,411
Illinois	27	7,897,241	73.6	1,281,854
Indiana	12	3,427,796	55.1	689,657
Iowa	9	2,538,268	42.7	519,150
Kansas	7	1,801,028	41.9	396,662
Kentucky	9	2,845,627	29.8	618,318
Louisiana	8	2,363,880	41.5	460,946

STATE STATISTICS (*Continued*)

State	No. of Representatives	Total Population 1940	Urban Percentage 1940	School Enrollment 1937-1938
Maine	3	847,226	40.5	164,016
Maryland	6	1,821,244	59.3	293,686
Massachusetts	15	4,316,721	89.4	744,871
Michigan	17	5,256,106	65.7	959,827
Minnesota	9	2,792,300	49.8	530,792
Mississippi	7	2,183,796	19.8	590,208
Missouri	13	3,784,664	51.8	705,612
Montana	2	559,456	37.8	110,403
Nebraska	5	1,315,834	39.1	289,916
Nevada	1	110,247	39.3	20,352
New Hampshire	2	491,524	57.6	76,390
New Jersey	14	4,160,165	81.6	746,383
New Mexico	1	531,818	33.2	129,877
New York	45	13,479,142	82.8	2,308,456
North Carolina	11	3,571,623	27.3	881,874
North Dakota	2	641,935	20.6	146,511
Ohio	24	6,907,612	66.8	1,251,005
Oklahoma	9	2,336,434	37.6	638,662
Oregon	3	1,089,684	48.8	193,861
Pennsylvania	34	9,900,180	66.5	1,944,988
Rhode Island	2	713,346	91.6	119,159
South Carolina	6	1,899,804	24.5	488,749
South Dakota	2	642,961	24.6	142,514
Tennessee	9	2,915,841	35.2	637,920
Texas	21	6,414,824	45.4	1,355,401
Utah	2	550,310	55.5	138,907
Vermont	1	359,231	34.3	67,931
Virginia	9	2,677,773	35.3	583,556
Washington	6	1,736,191	53.1	339,977
West Virginia	6	1,901,974	28.1	443,789
Wisconsin	10	3,137,587	53.5	560,468
Wyoming	1	250,742	37.3	56,970
United States	435	131,669,275	56.5	25,975,108

STATE STATISTICS (*Continued*)

State	Entered Union	Area Sq. Mi.	Term of Governor's Office Years	Governor's Salary
Alabama	1819	51,998	4	$ 6,000
Arizona	1912	113,956	2	7,500
Arkansas	1836	53,335	2	6,000
California	1850	158,297	4	10,000
Colorado	1876	103,948	2	5,000
Connecticut	1788	4,965	2	12,000
Delaware	1787	2,370	4	7,500
Dist. of Columbia	....	70	.	.....
Florida	1845	58,666	4	7,500
Georgia	1788	59,265	2	7,500
Idaho	1890	83,888	2	5,000
Illinois	1818	56,665	4	12,000
Indiana	1816	36,354	4	8,000
Iowa	1846	56,147	2	7,500
Kansas	1861	82,158	2	5,000
Kentucky	1792	40,598	4	10,000
Louisiana	1812	48,506	4	12,000
Maine	1820	33,040	2	5,000
Maryland	1788	12,327	4	4,500
Massachusetts	1788	8,266	2	10,000
Michigan	1837	57,980	2	5,000
Minnesota	1858	84,682	2	7,000
Mississippi	1817	46,865	4	7,500
Missouri	1821	69,420	4	5,000
Montana	1889	146,997	4	7,500
Nebraska	1867	77,520	2	7,500
Nevada	1864	110,690	4	7,000
New Hampshire	1788	9,341	2	5,000
New Jersey	1787	8,224	3	20,000
New Mexico	1912	122,634	2	5,000
New York	1788	49,204	4	25,000
North Carolina	1789	52,426	4	10,500
North Dakota	1889	70,837	2	4,000
Ohio	1803	41,040	2	10,000
Oklahoma	1907	70,057	4	6,500
Oregon	1859	96,699	4	7,500

STATE STATISTICS (*Continued*)

State	Entered Union	Area Sq. Mi.	Term of Governor's Office Years	Governor's Salary
Pennsylvania	1787	45,126	4	$18,000
Rhode Island	1790	1,248	2	8,000
South Carolina	1788	30,989	4	7,500
South Dakota	1889	77,615	2	3,000
Tennessee	1796	42,022	2	4,000
Texas	1845	265,896	2	12,000
Utah	1896	84,990	4	6,000
Vermont	1791	9,564	2	5,000
Virginia	1788	42,627	4	10,000
Washington	1889	69,127	4	6,000
West Virginia	1863	24,170	4	10,000
Wisconsin	1848	56,066	2	6,000
Wyoming	1890	97,914	4	8,000

The number of Electoral Votes for each state equals the sum of the number of its Representatives and the number of its Senators; or, in each case, 2 more than the number of Representatives listed above. A majority of Electoral Votes is necessary for a Presidential election.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
ALABAMA–Good character and understanding; poll tax receipt; registration.	2 y	1 y	3 m	3 m	Traitors; embezzlers of public funds; those guilty of corrupt election practices.
ARIZONA–Registration.	1 y	30 d	30 d	30 d	Those under guardianship; those convicted of treason.
ARKANSAS – Good understanding; poll tax receipt.	1 y	6 m	30 d	30 d	Convicts, until pardoned.
CALIFORNIA–Naturalization for 90 days, or treaty of Queretaro; registration.	1 y	90 d	.....	40 d	Bribers; Chinese; malfeasants.
COLORADO – Registration.	1 y	90 d	30 d	10 d	Those under guardianship; those convicted of an infamous crime, unless pardoned or having served term.
CONNECTICUT–Good character; ability to read English; registration.	1 y	.....	6 m	.....	Those convicted of felony or other infamous crime, unless pardoned; inmates of state institutions.
DELAWARE–Registration; ability to read Constitution in English, and to write name.	1 y	3 m	.....	30 d	Paupers.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (*Continued*)

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
FLORIDA–Registration.	1 y	6 m	.....	30 d	.....
GEORGIA–Registration; payment of poll tax.	1 y	6 m	.....	.....	.....
IDAHO–Registration...	6 m	30 d	.....	.....	Those under guardianship; those convicted of treason or embezzling public funds; those guilty of corrupt election practices, unless pardoned.
ILLINOIS–Registration.	1 y	90 d	.....	30 d	Convicts, unless pardoned.
INDIANA.....	6 m	60 d*	.....	30 d	Persons disqualified by judgment of a court; U. S. soldiers, marines, and sailors.
IOWA–Registration....	6 m	60 d	.....	10 d	.....
KANSAS–Registration in cities of first and second class.	6 m	.....	30 d	30 d	Bribers; those under guardianship; dishonorably discharged U. S. officials; defrauders of the government; those who have borne arms against the government.
KENTUCKY–Registration.	1 y	6 m	.....	60 d	Traitors; bribers.

*Township.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (*Continued*)

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
LOUISIANA–Good character; ability to understand the Constitution; registration.	2 y	1 y	.....	3 m	.....
MAINE–Registration; ability to read constitution of state in English.	6 m	6 m	6 m	.....	Paupers; persons under guardianship; Indians not taxed.
MARYLAND–Ability to read; registration.	1 y	6 m	6 m	.....	Those convicted of larceny or other infamous crime, unless pardoned; those guilty of corrupt election practices; those under guardianship.
MASSACHUSETTS–Ability to read and write English; registration.	1 y	.....	6 m	.....	Those under guardianship; paupers (except U. S. soldiers); those guilty of corrupt election practices.
MICHIGAN–Registration.	6 m	20 d*	20 d	.....	.....
MINNESOTA–Registration in first, second, and third class cities; citizenship for three months.	6 m	30 d	30 d	30 d	Traitors unless restored to civil rights; those under guardianship.
MISSISSIPPI–Ability to read or understand the state constitution; registration.	2 y	1 y	1 y	1 y	Delinquent taxpayers.

*Township.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (*Continued*)

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
MISSOURI–Registration in counties of 100,000 or more, and cities of 10,000 or more.	1 y	60 d	60 d	.....	Paupers; those convicted of felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor or violating right of suffrage, unless pardoned; disfranchised by second conviction.
MONTANA–Registration.	1 y	30 d	30 d	30 d	.....
NEBRASKA–Registration in all cities.	6 m	40 d	10 d	10 d	U. S. soldiers and sailors; traitors, unless pardoned.
NEVADA–Registration.	6 m	30 d	30 d	10 d	Traitors; Chinese and Indians; unamnestied confederates against U. S.
NEW HAMPSHIRE–Registration.	6 m	6 m	6 m	6 m	Paupers (except honorably discharged soldiers); non-taxpayers.
NEW JERSEY – Registration.	1 y	5 m	15-30 d	.....	Paupers; convicts unless pardoned.
NEW MEXICO–Registration.	1 y	90 d	.....	30 d	Indians not taxed.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (*Continued*)

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
NEW YORK–Citizenship 90 days; if acquired by marriage must be resident of U. S. for 5 years plus 90 days; ability to read and write English if never having voted before January 1, 1922; registration.	1 y	4 m	.....	30 d	Those convicted of bribery or any infamous crime, unless pardoned; bettors on elections; those guilty of corrupt election practices.
NORTH CAROLINA–Ability to read; registration.	1 y	.....	.....	4 m	Those convicted of infamous crime; atheists.
NORTH DAKOTA–Registration in some cities.	1 y	90 d	.....	30 d	Convicts, unless pardoned.
OHIO–Registration.....	1 y	30 d	20 d	20 d	U. S. soldiers and sailors.
OKLAHOMA.....	1 y	6 m	.....	30 d	Paupers (except ex-soldiers and sailors).
OREGON–Registration 30 days before election; ability to read and write English; in drainage and irrigation districts must own land.	6 m	.....	.....	.....	Non-resident U. S. soldiers and sailors.
PENNSYLVANIA–Citizenship for at least 1 mo.; registration; residence only 6 mo. if native.	1 y	.....	.....	2 m	Those guilty of corrupt election practices cannot vote for 4 years.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (*Continued*)

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
RHODE ISLAND–Registration for taxpayers once; non-taxpayers biennially.	2 y	.....	6 m	6 m	Bribers; paupers; persons under guardianship; Narragansett Indians; persons living on land ceded to the United States.
SOUTH CAROLINA–Ability to read; registration.	2 y	1 y	4 m	4 m	Those convicted of treason, dueling, or other infamous crime; paupers.
SOUTH DAKOTA....	1 y	90 d	.....	30 d	Those under guardianship; traitors, unless pardoned.
TENNESSEE–Poll tax receipt; registration in all counties of 50,000 or more and cities of 2,500 or more.	1 y	6 m	.....	60 d	Those convicted of bribery or other infamous crime.
TEXAS–Registration by means of payment of poll tax.	1 y	6 m	6 m	6 m	Paupers; U. S. soldiers and sailors.
UTAH–Citizenship for 90 days; registration.	1 y	4 m	.....	60 d	Those convicted of treason or crime against election law unless restored to civil right.
VERMONT–Registration; freeman's oath.	1 y	3 m	3 m	3m*	Convicts unless pardoned; those guilty of corrupt election practices.

*Town.

STATE QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (*Continued*)

States and Requirements for Voters (Other than Citizenship)	Previous Residence Required				Persons Excluded (Other than felons, idiots, and the insane)
	State	County	City	Precinct	
VIRGINIA–Payment of poll tax three years; registration; passing of literacy test.	1 y	6 m	6 m	30 d	Convicts unless pardoned; paupers, traitors; embezzlers, duelists and their abettors.
WASHINGTON–Ability to read and speak English.	1 y	90 d	30 d	30 d	Indians not taxed.
WEST VIRGINIA–Registration.	1 y	60 d	60 d	.....	Paupers; bribers; traitors; U. S. soldiers and sailors.
WISCONSIN–Registration in cities of 5,000 population or over.	1 y	10 d	10 d	10 d	Those under guardianship; convicts, unless pardoned.
WYOMING–Registration.	1 y	60 d	10 d	10 d	Those unable to read state constitution.

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